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VOICES FROM RUSSIA

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At the head of the Revolution is the Proletariat. At the head of the Proletariat is Social-Democracy!

Let us exert all our power, comrades! Let us put all our energy and all our passion into this. Let us not forget for a moment the great responsibility vested in our Party; a responsibility before the Russian Revolution and in the sight of International Socialism.

The proletariat of the entire world looks to us with expectation. Broad vistas are being opened for humanity by a victorious Russian Revolution. Comrades, let us do our duty!

Let us close our ranks, comrades! Let us unite, and unite the masses! Let us prepare, and prepare the masses for the day of decisive actions! Let us overlook nothing. Let us leave no power unused for the Cause.

Brave, honest, harmoniously united, we shall march forward, linked by unbreakable bonds, brothers in the Revolution!

—Leon Trotzky.

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THE BOLSHEVIKI REGIME.

THE Bolsheviki constituted themselves the Government of Russia on November 7th, 1917. This action brought the period of indecision to an end; the workers were in power and all who opposed them were stamped as counter-revolutionary; it brought an end to the compromise between the Mensheviki and the bourgeoisie under the guise of "revolutionary unity," and showed these two factions in their true colors, i. e., anti-working class. After November 7th, the class division in Russia stood out clearly; all the workers and poor peasants supported the Bolsheviki, and the land-owners, the bourgeoisie and their hangers on were anti-Bolsheviki.

Soon after gaining power the Bolshevik Government drafted two decrees; one dealt with the armistice on all fronts, the other with the abolition of private ownership of land. By this means they enlisted the support of the workers and peasants with their cry of "Peace and Land." Ninety per cent of the workers in Russia were sick of war, and any Government which hoped for success was bound to strive for peace. The Bolsheviki accepted the situation and entered into peace negotiations with the Central Powers. On December 10th a truce was signed and a peace conference was decided upon, to be held at Brest-Litovsk.

The peace programme of the Bolsheviki—"No indemnities," "No annexations," and "Self-determination of peoples," was essentially a working class programme, and these phrases could only be translated into realities when the workers of the world had become supreme. Fundamentally, the actions of the Bolsheviki at Brest-Litovsk were an invitation to the workers of Europe for a peace **made by the workers** through the overthrow of capitalism. To think that any bourgeois government could accept these terms denotes a great lack of understanding as to what capitalism is. Yet, this is precisely what many so-called Socialists thought, and much sickening cant was printed all over the world by people who

thus proved themselves unable to understand the class struggle. Only the workers organized as the ruling class could accept these terms—until that time they will remain beautiful phrases used by capitalist journalists and ignorant "Labor" writers to fool the workers. To many of the Bolsheviki this was clear, especially Lenin, who said: "Self-determination of people is a farce, it is only necessary to ask the capitalists of the world to get off the backs of their own people to prove it."

The negotiations at Brest-Litovsk dragged on until February 10th, 1918, when Trotzky dramatically issued his "no war, but no peace" statement, which was afterwards ratified by the Government at Petrograd, and the demobilization of the army was ordered. On February 18th the German army started its advance into Russia, and the old Russian army offered little resistance. The order for the demobilization of the army was only the recognition of an actual fact, since the peasants in the army had already started off home; the Bolsheviki decided to destroy this institution of the old regime and build up a workers' army.

On February 19th Lenin and Trotzky issued a proclamation protesting against the invasion and saying that "in the present circumstances the Council of People's Commissaries regards itself as forced formally to declare its willingness to sign a peace upon the conditions which had been dictated by the delegations of the Quadruple Alliance at Brest-Litovsk." Lenin accepted the situation and urged the signing of the peace treaty, pointing out that they had no army to fight with, and that "to refuse to sign these terms is only possible to those who are intoxicated by revolutionary phrases." The terms were signed and the work of defense was started, with the result that the German army came to a halt at Pskov, sixty-five miles from Petrograd, on February 6th.

The bourgeois Rada in Ukrainia had already signed a separate peace with the Central Powers, and the German army entered Ukrainia to restore "order"—and seize grain and other supplies to be shipped to Germany.

This had a fine effect upon the peasants, who had resisted the Bolsheviki troops; the German army, in forcing class consciousness upon the peasants, forced them into the arms of the Bolsheviki; as for the bourgeoisie of Ukrainia, they are not having a happy time of it, and it does not matter to us what happens to them.

While Kerensky was in power he issued a decree calling for the election of a Constituent Assembly; this Assembly (as its name indicates) was to decide upon the new constitution of Russia. The Assembly convened at Petrograd on January 18th, 1918. The Bolsheviki had only a minority, the majority being Mensheviki and bourgeois. The Constituent Assembly was forcibly dispersed because it refused to pass a declaration submitted to it by the Central Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, as follows:

"The Constituent Assembly resolves that Russia be declared a republic of Soviets. The central and provincial power appertaining to these Soviets. The Republic of Soviets is formed on the basis of a free alliance of free nations under the constitution of a confederation of national Soviet republics."

Then followed a long series of provisions, the abolition of private proprietorship of land; the equal liability of all to work; the arming of the working class and the disarming of the bourgeoisie. Article II approved the policy of the Workers and Soldiers' Delegates for a democratic peace, and approved the decree repudiating the Russian loans. Article IV read:

"* * * * the Constituent Assembly considers that it can in no way oppose the power of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Government. At the moment of the decisive struggle of the people against those who have exploited them, the latter can find no place in the governing body. The power must be exclusively in the hands of the working class and its representatives, the Soviets."

The majority of the Constituent Assembly, being bourgeois, rejected this declaration, "The Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People," as it was named; thereupon the Bolsheviki Government ordered its dissolution.

After the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly the Executive Committee of the Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates issued a proclamation declaring that the revolution created the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council as the only organization able to direct the struggle of the exploited working class for complete political and economical liberation. During the first period of the revolution the Workmen's and Soldiers' Congress had perceived the illusion of an understanding with the bourgeoisie and its deceptive parliamentary organization, and realized that the liberation of the oppressed class was impossible without a rupture with the bourgeoisie. The decree points out that the November revolution gave all authority to the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, and that the Constituent Assembly being elected from the old election lists, was an expression of the old regime when the power belonged to the bourgeoisie. The workers had learned that the old bourgeois parliamentarianism had had its day, and was incompatible with the tasks before Socialism, only the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils were able to overcome the opposition of the rich classes and create a new Socialist State. The refusal of the majority of the Assembly to debate the programme of the Central Executive Committee of the Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates had caused the withdrawal of the Bolsheviki and the Social Revolutionists of the Left from the Assembly. The Social Revolutionists of the Right were openly fighting against the Councils and supporting the exploiters of labor. The proclamation finishes by saying, "The Central Executive Committee, therefore, orders the Constituent Assembly dissolved."

Workers of America: The Russian Soviet Government knows the history of all preceding revolutions, and at this time of the world crisis they stand firm, profoundly defending the class character of their revolution.

They work and labor for the class union and complete fusion of workers of all races into one homogenous race, the race of economically free men. Will you stand by the Russian Revolution?

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THE SOVIETS
By Albert Rhys Williams

INTRODUCTION

Albert Rhys Williams was a war correspondent in Belgium and author of "In the Claws of the German Eagle." He went to Russia and for fifteen months lived in the villages with the peasants, in the Red Army with the soldiers, and in the industries with the workers. He knew the people, as well as Lenin, Trotzky and all the others. His travels took him down the "Mother" Volga and through the beautiful Ukraine on the Dneiper, then through all the great cities of Russia and over 6,000 miles of the Trans-Siberian Railway.

He addressed the soldiers at the front, the great mass meetings of the People's House in Petrograd, and the Cirque Moderne, and the sailors of the Baltic Fleet. When the Germans began the drive on Petrograd he organized an International Legion for the defense of the Red Capitol. In the Foreign Office of the Soviet Government he helped to prepare the propaganda which was sent into Germany to stir up the revolution.

Some of his experiences Mr. Williams has written for the "New Republic", "The Nation" and other journals. After his addresses in the Church of the Ascension, in New York, and at Ford Hall, in Boston, many questions were raised. Some of them are briefly answered here.

What is the present government in Russia?

An Industrial Republic, the first government of the working class in the world, owned by the workers and for the workers.

When was it established?

Over a year ago; to be exact, November 7th, 1917.

Where is the capital of Russia?

In Moscow, in the Kremlin.

The Kremlin is a citadel with a wonderful collection of churches, graceful towers, green and golden domes, big bells and cannons and rich treasures of art. It is the pride of all the Russians. They say "above Moscow lies the Kremlin and above the Kremlin lies only the stars." But now above the Kremlin flies the red banners of the new industrial republic: "Long live the Union of Soldiers, Sailors, Workingmen, Peasants and toiling Cossacks." "Hail to the Brotherhood of the Toilers of the World."

What is the form of government in Russia?

It is a government of Soviets.

Instead of electing men at the polls, they are elected in the shops and unions. For example, every 500 workers in a munition factory select a delegate. The shoe factory elects a delegate, as do the clothing shops, the brick yards, glass works, and all the other industries which happen to be in that city. The different unions do likewise. The regiments of soldiers and the sailors also elect their delegates; likewise the teachers, the clerks, and the engineers who are organized.

Is it true that the Soviets do not allow everyone to vote?

It is true at the present time. The exploiters of labor, idle people living off interest, members of the Czar's family, criminals and the insane are not allowed to vote in Russia. The Soviet slogan is "A vote for everyone who works." Soon everyone in Russia will work for a living and that means that every man and woman over eighteen years of age will have the right to vote. Even at present 95 per cent in Russia can vote, while in the United States only about 65 per cent can vote.

There is a Soviet in every city, village, district and county in Russia.

It was through a land of Soviets that the Trans-Siberian express had brought us across the great steel bridges, the Urals, the Taiga and the steppes. The train-

men spoke of their Soviet, the peasants of theirs, the miners had cheered us in the name of theirs. We had conferred with the Soviet of Central Siberia and the Far East Soviet. It was a Soviet world through which we had passed, and when we stepped from the train at Vladivostok we found the Soviet there an exact copy of the one at Petrograd, seven thousand miles away.

There is nothing more remarkable in all history than the fact that in a week after the Revolution one-sixth of the earth's surface should in every city and village bring forth this new state apparatus, that it should so manifest its worth, strike its roots deeper and deeper, crowd out all rivals, resist the shock of every attack, and after 15 months hold undisputed sway from the White Sea on the North to the Black Sea on the South, from Petrograd upon the Baltic to Vladivostok on the Pacific.

How can the people get their representative in the Soviet to do what they wish him to do?

They blow the factory whistle and have a meeting; or the teachers' association or unions meet at a regular session. Then they tell their representative what they wish of him. If he doesn't act in accordance with their wishes they elect another. For example, in Petrograd in July, 1917, documents were published in the papers saying that some Bolsheviks were German agents. Then the men in the shops immediately recalled the Bolsheviks from the Soviet and put in Menshevik delegates. Later, when the workingmen discovered that all these documents were lies and forgeries, they sent back their old Bolshevik delegates and hundreds of new ones.

This is the government of the towns, but what is the government of all Russia?

Each local Soviet elects a delegate to the All-Russian Assembly, which meets about every three months at Moscow. Altogether there are about 1500 delegates.

"The delegates come from the Arctic, where it is nearly always cold, and from the Crimea, where it is nearly always warm.

"There were fishermen from the Lena and shepherds from the Caucasus. There were Little Russians, merry-souled chaps, blue-eyed and fair-haired, who came from a land where the sun shines much and the earth yields plentifully. There were Big Russians, inured to hardship, their sterner struggle with the soil photographed upon their determined faces. Scattered among them were fair-haired Cossacks from the Don and dark-skinned Cossacks from the Urals, with a strain

of Tartar marked in the slant of their eyes and the color of their skin. Sometimes it was an Esthonian, a Pole, a Lett, a Lithuanian, or a member of one of the numerous Siberian tribes. All of Russia was gathered under that roof."—"THE RED HEART OF RUSSIA," by Bessie Beatty.

What does this gathering of workmen, peasants, soldiers and sailors do in the All-Russian Assembly?

It decides all the great public questions like war, peace, lands, commerce, etc. When it adjourns, it leaves behind an Executive Committee of about 250 members, a body somewhat like our Congress.

What are the duties of the Executive Committee?

It passes laws. One of the chief duties is to appoint, dismiss, and control the Council of the People's Commissars, a body somewhat like our Cabinet.

What is the difference between our Cabinet and the Council of People's Commissars?

The members of the American Cabinet are appointed by the President. The members of the Russian Council of People's Commissars are elected by the people.

What are the salaries of the Commissars of the Soviet Government?

The largest salary that any official in the Soviet Government receives is 600 roubles a month ($60).

Under the old government officials were paid enormous salaries. Most of them received as much in a week as a Soviet official now receives in a year. The Bolsheviks said that the pay of officials of a workingman's government should not be more than that of an average workingman. They feared the gulf that must arise between well paid officials, able to maintain a luxurious standard of living, and workingmen receiving only a living wage. They wished to avoid the creation of a new bureaucracy. Careerism in public life was to be discouraged. No one can have cake until everyone had bread. They fixed the pay at $60, with $10 extra for each non-earning member. Lenin's wife works in the Department of Education, therefore Lenin receives only $60 a month. Trotzky has a wife and two children, therefore he gets $90 a month.

When the Soviet Government moved to Moscow it took over one of the large hotels, the National, to live in. The first thing it did was to abolish expensive elaborate menus. The meals, instead of consisting of many dishes, were cut down to two. One could have soup and meat, and soup and kasha (a kind of porridge). Of course, there was tea.

What are the advantages of the Soviet form of government over Congress?

(a) A Soviet delegate comes from a group—a shop or a union, meeting regularly. It has a natural unity. A Congress-

man represents all sorts of people, irrespective of their work, who meet at the polls every two or four or six years; there is no other bond between them.

(b) A Soviet representative is continuously in touch with the people he represents. A Congressman has no natural connection with his people.

(c) The Soviets are elected largely by occupations. They are full of miners who know mines; machinists who know machines; peasants who know the land; teachers who know children and education. Congress is full of lawyers and politicians and officegrabbers.

(d) The Soviet is a center for the transaction of business by men who know their business. Congress is too often a talking-machine, an arena for playing party politics.

What are some of the things which the Soviet Government has accomplished?

FIRST—It nationalized all the natural resources, the forests, mines, waterways, etc.

SECOND—It gave all the land to the peasants. Each family was given as much land as it could work. This has made the peasants very happy and glad to support the Soviet.

THIRD—It organized the great Red Army.

FOURTH—"It swept the Secret Treaties into the ash barrel of history."

FIFTH—It stirred up the great Revoution in Germany and pulled the Kaiser from his throne.

SIXTH—It opened up thousands of schools, libraries, workmen's theaters, newspapers and postoffices.

SEVENTH—It gave the factories, shops and mines to the workers. Some of them were owned by the State; others came directly under workmen's control.

What is meant by workmen's control?

It means that a committee elected by the workmen take part in the management of the plant.

"I mean by control," said Trotzky, "that we will see to it that the factory is run not from the point of view of private profit, but from the point of view of the social welfare. . . . . For example, we will not allow the capitalist to shut up his factory in order to starve his workmen into submission, or because it is not yielding him a profit. If it is turning out economically a needed product, it must be kept running. If the capitalist gives it up, he will lose it altogether, for a board of directors chosen by the workmen will be put in charge.

"Again, 'control' implies that the books and correspondence of the concern will be open to the public, so that henceforth there will be no industrial secrets. If this concern hits upon a better process or device, it will be given to other concerns in the same branch of industry. Thus the public will promptly realize the utmost possible benefit from the find."—

From an interview with Trotzky by Professor E. A. Ross of Wisconsin University.

When the workers took over the factories and mines, did they not make many mistakes?

They did. Lack of experience and technical skill led them to many blunders. But they learned quickly, and after a time many factories turned out more products than before.

As soon as the workmen found the factories really in their hands there came a change in their minds. Under the Kerensky regime they tended to elect a foreman who would let them do as they pleased. Under their own government, the Soviet, they began to elect as foremen those who put discipline into the shop and raised the production.

In the so-called "American Works" at Vladivostok, the wheels, frames and brakes of cars were assembled, and the cars sent out over the Trans-Siberian Railway. In the Kerenskl regime these shops were hotbeds of trouble.. The 6000 workmen on the pay roll were turning out but 18 cars a day.

The Soviet Committee closed the plant down and put the men to work in other places. Then it reorganized the shops and started up with a force of 1,800 men. In the underframe section, instead of 1.400 there were 350, but by means of short-cuts, introduced by the workers themselves, the output of that department was increased. Altogether, the 1,800 men on the new pay roll were turning out 12 cars a day—an efficiency increase of more than 100 per cent per man.

I was standing with the Bolshevik president on the hills, overlooking the shops below. He was listening to the clank of the cranes and the stamp of the trip hammers ringing up from the valley.

"That seems to be sweet music to your ears," I said.

"Yes," he replied, "the old revolutionists used to make a noise with bombs, but this is the noise of the new revolutionists hammering out a new social order."

What has the Soviet done to give good houses to the people?

There were millions of people in Russia living in poor, dark rooms. On the other hand, there were thousands of palaces and fine homes well furnished and well lighted which were occupied by but a few people. The Soviets said this is all wrong; "You who build the great houses should live in them." So the people moved in. Now there are hundreds of thousands of people in Russia who, for the first time, have a decent place to live in.

What has the Soviet Government done to the church and religion?

It gave religion the same freedom it has in America. It separated the church from the State, so that now all churches are on the same footing in Russia. The Catholic, the Protest-

ant, the Jew, can worship as he pleases. The Soviets have made the first great attempt to put into practice the teachings of Jesus. Jesus wanted a social order where every man would get a fair chance; that is what the Soviet is doing.

What have the Soviets done for the women of Russia?

Women have the same political, economic and social rights as men. The Bolshevik Government provides free care for women 16 weeks before, while, and after they become mothers. If they go back to work they are allowed to work but four hours a day. Women have full rights over their property, the right of divorce the same as men, and in the shops are on the same footing. "Together men and women were slaves, now together they are free."

How is justice administered under the Soviets?

Justice is very simple in Russia now. The old laws of Russia were very bad and the Soviet Government had to rebuild the whole thing. In the meantime a revolutionary tribunal which hears all cases was established. Sometimes lawyers are not present at all, but people defend themselves; and their friends come forward to speak for them. The principle of right and wrong guides the tribunals, legal tricks and technicalities are out of court.

What has the Soviet done for amusements in Russia?

Workmen Theatres have been established in hundreds of places, and in these the best plays are given. There are thousands of workmen who are actors. The People's Theatre in Petrograd is managed by the wife of Maxim Gorky. There is more good music in Russia than ever before.

Under the Soviet, then, is there great happiness in Russia? Is it the millennium on earth?

There is much cold and hunger in Russia now and many babies have died for lack of milk in Moscow and Petrograd. The railroads are broken down, and while the rest of Europe has peace the workmen and peasants of Russia by the hundreds of thousands must go out to fight and to die. But they do not blame this upon the Soviets, but upon the Allies, who have cut off the food supply of Siberia.

How did the Soviet show its interest in the American working cass?

It held thousands of meetings to protest against the murder of Mooney. The workingmen of Petrograd went to the American Ambassador and told him Mooney was their brother and that he must be freed.

Did the Soviet pass any laws for the benefit of the American working class?

A great many. For example: the Soviet desired to import harvesters and other machinery from America. They declared

they would receive no machinery from America which was not made under a living wage in an eight-hour day, with no night work for women, etc. No machinery, they said, would be allowed in Russia which did not bear the O. K. of committees of the workingmen where the articles were made.

What else has the Soviet done for which all America should be grateful?

It has saved hundreds of thousands of American lives, some say 500,000, others say more.

How has the Soviet saved so many American lives?

Because it did all it could to bring about the great revolution in Germany and Austria, which, in turn, suddenly brought about the end of the great war. Our military experts were saying that the war would last six months or two years more, and that it would take perhaps a million American lives in order to get to the Rhine. The Teuton armies were way down upon the soil of France and Belgium and Italy, but they suddenly stopped fighting. Why? Because the Revolution started back home.

How did the Russian Soviet make the Great Revolutions in Austria and Germany which helped stop the war, and thus saved the lives of so many Americans?

The Soviet sent hundreds of agitators into Germany and Austria, who told the people to make a Revolution as they had done in Russia. The Russian Soviet also published millions of copies of papers in different languages—German, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, etc. These papers were dropped by aeroplanes, blown by wind, smuggled in boxes and carried by prisoners into Germany.

In an illustrated paper sent over, there is a picture showing a workman tearing the Imperial eagles off the palace, and below the crowd is making a bonfire of them. The paper explains the picture to the Germans in these words:

"On the roof of a palace a workingman is tearing down the hated emblems of autocracy. On the street the people are burning up the Imperial eagles. A soldier is telling the people that the overthrow of autocracy is only the first step on the way to the Social Revolution. It is very easy to overthrow the Imperial Government, German comrades. It rests only upon those blind soldiers who support it with their bayonets. The Russian soldiers only opened their eyes and the Czar's government has disappeared. When will the soldiers in other lands ruled by a Kaiser open their eyes?"

Here is one of the appeals which was sent out to the German fleet:

"The Revolutionary sailors of the Baltic Fleet, in conference assembled, send their greetings of brotherhood to their heroic German comrades who have taken part in the insurrection at Kiel.

"The Russian sailors are in complete possession of their battleships. The Sailors' Committee are the High Command. The yacht of the former Czar, the 'Polar Star,' is now the headquarters of the Fleet Committee, which is composed of common sailors, one from each ship.

"Since the Revolution, the Russian Fleet is as busy as formerly, but the Russian sailors will not use the fleet to fight their brothers, but everywhere to fight under the Red Flag of the International for the freedom of the Proletariat throughout the entire world."

Millions of roubles, and much energy of Bolsheviks like Lenin and Trotzky were spent on this propaganda. At last it won out. The great Revolution in Germany came and the Great War ended.

Nearly all Americans who have been to any Soviets and know the Bolsheviks say that the Soviet Government should be recognized by America as the real government of Russia.

"It is absolutely necessary for us to believe in the Soviet. . . . . The Soviet is the soul of Russia.—and more . . . . the Soviet has become its communicating nervous system and its deciding brain. . . . .

"Let us abandon every word of unnecessary criticism against Russia. It is a Soviet House. If the Soviets choose Lenin to rule their house, it is their house. If they choose some one else to rule their house, it is their house.

". . . . It is a republic of Soviets, and in the mouth of every American the word Soviet must become a word of friendship, a word of comradeship, a word of great hope."—Chicago Daily News.

"Russia is a government of the workingmen and the soldiers, of the peasants and the mechanics. It is a democracy which is striving for the uplift of the great masses. It is a democracy which comes as near being representative of the soil as it would be possible to find anywhere. It has mud on its boots, hair on its face, and the love of freedom in its heart. They say, 'the Russian democracy is red.' Yes, full of good red blood—you will find it isn't yellow. No less than 60 per cent of the Russians are Bolsheviks."—Colonel W. B. Thompson.

Are the Socialists the only ones who believe in the Soviets?

No; all classes of Americans; Colonel W. B. Thompson of Wall Street; Colonel Raymond Robins, head of the American Red Cross, who knew Lenin and Trotzky; Major Thacher; Bessie Beatty of the San Francisco Bulletin; Louise Bryant of the Bell Syndicate; Madeline Z. Doty of Harper's; Louis Edgar Brown of the Chicago Daily News; Dr. Charles F. Kunz; Jerome Davis, acting head of the American Y. M. C. A. in Russia; John Reed of the Liberator, and scores of others.

How do we know that the Soviet is the government that the people of Russia want?

It is the only government that has shown any strength, and the only one that the people have fought and died for. The last Sunday in July an election was held in Vladivostok. There were 17 tickets. Everybody said the contest was between the Cadet Party and the Moderate Socialist block. It was not supposed that the Bolsheviks could cast any large vote because their leaders were in prison and their papers suppressed. But when the votes were counted, it was found that the Cadets had 4,000, the Socialists 5,000, and the Bolsheviks 12,000. The Bolsheviks got more votes than all the other 16 parties put together.

If the people of Russia want a Soviet Government, have we any right to make them take our kind of government?

The kind of a government they want is their business. If at the point of the bayonet we compel them to take our kind of government we are doing the same thing as Imperial Germany.

"The people of Russia intend hereafter to own Russia and to govern Russia in their own interests. In Russia, practically speaking, there is no middle class of small property owners, business men and land owners, such as is characteristic of England, France and the United States. Virtually the entire population of Russia consists of peasants and industrial workers. That is the reason why the Government of the Bolsheviki—the majority—is entirely made up of representatives of these workers."—Col. W. B. Thompson, head of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia.

Has it been an easy task for the Soviet to do its great work?

No; the workingmen have had tremendous difficulties.

FIRST, hundreds of years of the rule of Czars had kept the people browbeaten, poor and oppressed.

SECOND, three years and seven months of war had bled the country white; 3,500,000 Russians had been killed, 4,000,000 wounded, there were 350,000 war orphans and 200,000 deaf, dumb and blind. The Russians lost more than Belgium, France, Italy and America combined.

THIRD, the railways were broken down, the mines had been flooded, the food and fuel were nearly gone.

FOURTH, the Czechs, supported by the Japanese, French, British and Americans, cut off their grain supply from Siberia. The Germans and Austrians cut off their food supply from the Ukraine.

FIFTH, 12 000,000 soldiers were suddenly demobilized. America had only 4,000,000 soldiers, and yet we expect to take a year before they are all home from France and demobilized.

SIXTH, they were sabotaged by the old officials, and de-

serted by the upper classes, boycotted by the Allies and nearly guillotined by the Germans.

Are the difficulties which the Russians face in their Revolution greater than America faced in hers?

Much greater.

(1) In the American Revolution there were 3,000,000 people. In the French Revolution there were 23,000,000. But in the Russian Revolution there are 180,000,000 spread over a country three times as large as America.

(2) The French Revolution and the American Revolution were largely political, while the Russian Revolution is political and social.

(3) In our Revolution the foreign countries let us alone or helped us, while all the foreign governments today are fighting Russia.

(4) It took us in America over eight years before we settled down to a firm, stable government. The Russians have had less than two years.

What did the upper classes do to make disorder in Russia?

They gave huge sums of money to the old officials, and to bank clerks to stop work. They said that the workingmen did not have brains enough to run things. But the Soldiers and Sailors took charge of the banks and the governmental offices themselves.

How else did the upper class try to overthrow the Soviet Government?

(a) They hoped to starve the people into submission. Roubinsky, a great capitalist, said, "the bony hand of hunger will clutch the people by the throat and bring them to their senses." But the Soviets brought in food. (b) Then the upper class hoped that bad sewage and the melting snow would bring cholera. But the Soviets organized sanitary commissions and stopped the epidemics. (c) Then they tried to get the people in the cities drunk in order that they should go out and loot, burn and kill. This was called a wine pogrom. They would suddenly open up hidden wine callers and give everybody all the wine he could drink. The Soviets stopped this by destroying 400 such cellars and pumping the wine out into the canals.

How else did the upper classes try to overthrow the Soviets?

They went away to the far ports of Russia and organized military forces. Large armies were led by the Czar's generals against the workmen's government.

What kind of soldiers did the Soviets have, to beat off its enemies?

There were two divisions: (1) the Red Army; they were the regular soldiers, who received about $30 a month. (2)

the Red Guards; these were workingmen in the factories and peasants on the farms. When danger threatened, they left their plows and dropped their tools and, picking up their guns, went out to the defense of their government.

Regiments of officers, monarchists, adventurers, Khun-Khuz bandits and Japanese mercenaries were formed in Manchuria and kept attacking the frontiers of the workmen's republic.

It was the regular division of the Red Army that bore the brunt of these raids. As soon as the enemy broke through, the cry of "The Socialist Fatherland is in danger!" was raised. Into every village and factory hurried the call to arms. Each formed its little group of Red Guards, and along the roads and pathways they marched up into the Manchurian Mountains, singing sometimes a revolutionary hymn and sometimes folk songs of the village. Poorly equipped and poorly fed, they voluntarily advanced to pit themselves against a merciless foe, splendidly armed and trained.

The Red Army and the Red Guard showed a lack of the iron discipline of the regular national armies. But it had a spirit which the others lacked. I talked much with these peasants and workers who for weeks had been lying out on the hill-sides in the rain and the cold. "What made you come and what keeps you here?" I asked. "Well—millions of us dark people," they replied, "had to go out and die for the government of the Czar in the old days; surely we would all be cowards if we didn't go out and fight for a government that is our own."

Was the Soviet able to defeat all its enemies?

Every one of them. Not a single member of any of these Anti-Soviet governments dared set his foot upon Russian or Siberian soil. If he had done so he would have been locked up.

Who are the enemies of the Soviet Government?

(a) The landlords, who want to take the land away from the peasants. (b) The capitalists, who want to take the factories and banks away from the workingmen. (c) The officers, who want to take control of the army away from the soldiers. (d) The monarchists, who want to take the government away from the people.

But they could do nothing against the workmen of Russia until the Allies came to their help.

I.

Has not the Soviet Government of Russia killed great numbers of officers, the landowners, and the rich?

On the contrary, very few. In the future we will ask, "How can we explain that in a Revolution so big and so deep such a handful were killed?" There have been many wild tales about the number of victims. But no one says that there

were more than 40,000 killed in the first year of the Revolution; and many of these were Bolsheviks who were killed in defending the Soviets against unlawful attacks. Russia has a population of 180,000,000; that means that in this civil war less than one out of every 4,000 people in Russia were killed. In the first year of the American Civil War one out of every 300 was killed. In the South, thousands of American men were sacrificed to perpetuate slavery. Russia is fighting, not to perpetuate injustice and crime, but to establish freedom.

Have not Marie Spiridonova and Breshkovskaya (Babushka), the two great women of the Revolution, been killed by the Bolsheviks?

The newspapers have killed them several times in order to make the people who love these two women hate the Bolsheviks. But both are living. Marie Spiridonova is now working with the Bolsheviks.

What is the "Red Terror"?

It means that whenever anyone is caught killing a member of the Soviet Government, or trying to kill a member, or of plotting to overthrow the Soviet Government, he is arrested. Then he is placed on trial before a Revolutionary Tribunal. If he is adjudged guilty he is imprisoned or executed. If found innocent, he is promptly released. In other countries we would call this preserving law and order.

"The terrorism under which the limited property-owning class is living is slight compared with the terrorism in which the workingman and peasant lives in fear of the return of the old regime."—Colonel W. B. Thompson, Chairman of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia.

Why, then, are the papers full of these stories of loot and murder and massacre?

Because the great interests are making a poison gas attack against the Soviets and the Bolsheviks.

"What is the source of the lies about Russia which are so systematically disseminated in this country? A couple of weeks ago the statement was published on the front pages of the Eastern newspapers that on November 10th the Bolsheviki were to indulge in a general massacre of all their class opponents. But what actually happened on or about that day? The following dispatch, published in the New York World, may give some idea: 'The Soviet Council in Petrograd has adopted a resolution giving amnesty to all arrested hostages and persons alleged to be involved in plots against the Soviets, except those whose detention is deemed necessary as a guarantee for the security of the Bolsheviki who have fallen into enemy hands.' Instead of a St. Bartholomew, a feast of reconciliation. The lie is published in the most conspicuous part of all the newspapers in the country. The truth is published in an inconspicuous part of one newspaper. Is the case against the

Bolsheviki so weak that it has to be sustained by lies?"—New Republic, November 16th.

It is not true, then, that the Bolsheviks wish to kill the upper class?

No; they only wish to set them to work.

II.

Has not the Soviet Government made general chaos and disorder in Russia?

On the contrary. It has saved the country from these evils. Correspondents tell us that the streets of Moscow and Petrograd are as safe, if not safer, to walk upon than the streets of New York and Chicago. We came across 6,000 miles on the Trans-Siberian Railway as quietly as going from New York to Washington, and safer than in Brooklyn. Order was asserting itself on every hand. Then Allied intervention came and now tens of thousands of people have been killed and wounded, villages burned, tunnels and bridges have been blown up, fifty miles of tracks torn up, and the Omsk Government is reported to have taken 1,714,000 bushels of wheat, which is needed for hungry Russia, and turning it into alcoholic liquor to make the people drunk.

III.

Has not the Soviet Government refused to pay the national debt?

It is true they repudiated that debt when the Allies did not come to their help.

It was the Czar who borrowed the money from France and England in 1906-10. He used it in employing a big army to put down the Russian workingmen. He used it to send 300,000 men and women and children into the horrors of the awful Siberian mines and prisons. The Socialists warned the bankers of France not to give the money to the Czar. Even Milyukov warned them. The Socialists said if they came into power they would not pay back the money which was used to suppress, to jail and to kill them, and so they did exactly what they said they would do. But even rather than have a bloody war over the debt, the Soviet would prefer to compromise.

IV.

Is it not true that the workmen's Soviet does not trust the educated and upper classes?

They have lost faith in the so-called "governing classes." The workers and peasants say, "We used to toil and slave and let you run the world. But what kind of a world was it that you made? It was full of strife, slums, awful poverty, ending in this horrible war. If you are not criminals you are terrible bunglers. You have shown yourselves unfit to have power and we do not intend to let you have it. True, as workingmen, we

will make mistakes, too. But we prefer to suffer from our own mistakes and not from yours."

Why has there been a break between the educated (intelligentsia) and the great masses of Russia?

Because the attitude of the educated was, "Let the people rule, but let them rule through us." But the people of Russia said, "We want to rule ourselves and in our own way." However, the educated are now working for the Soviet. For the first time the working class is buying brains quite as the capitalist class has done before.

V.

Did the Soviets dissolve the Constituent Assembly of Russia that met a year ago?

They did, because it was the only thing that could save Russia and the Revolution. Nearly all observers who were on the spot agree to this. The best proof of this is the fact that when it was a matter of life and death to the Constituent Assembly 15,000 paraded for it. If it was a matter of life or death to the Soviet a million would have paraded for it; more than that, they would have fought and died for it.

VI.

Did not the Soviet Government make peace with the Imperial German Government?

It did because the old soldier army recruited under the Czar refused to fight any longer. The soldiers said they had enough of fighting without food or clothes and **that they had nothing to fight for. The Russian workingmen sent an appeal to the German workingmen not to advance upon the soil of the New Russian Republic. To their eternal honor, thousands of German workingmen soldiers refused to advance. They were shot by their officers, and the main German Imperial army marched on against Moscow and Petrograd.** The Germans said they would not stop until the Soviet signed the Brest-Litovsk peace. There was no other way out. **Lenin said, that it was "a shameful" peace, a "robber's" peace, a "cuth-throat" peace, but the Soviet Government had to sign.** The Russian workmen then said, "The old army has gone; now we shall build up a new Red Army. Meantime we shall try to make a revolution in Germany. If that does not come in six months or a year, then we shall turn our Red Army against the Germans." Slowly they built up a new strong Red Army, but before they could use it, the revolution came in Germany.

Whom have the workingmen of Russia elected as President, or Premier of the Council of People's Commissars?

Nicholas Lenin (Vladimir Ilitch Ulianoff).

Lenin is forty-eight years of age. He was born of a noble family. When he was seventeen years of age his brother was hanged for plotting to kill the Czar. He was expelled from

the law school for preaching Socialism. Later we find him in Siberia charged with founding the Union for the Struggle to Liberate the Artizan Class, then as student in Paris learning languages; then in Switzerland writing books on politics and economics; later again in London as the "leader" of the Bolshevik Party. When the Revolution of 1905 began he rushed to Petrograd and two years later found himself again in exile. **For eight years he labored like a galley slave, writing, speaking and organizing. The outbreak of the great war caught him in Austria trying to stir the workers to rebellion.**

In April, 1917, Lenin hastened home and was given a great ovation as his train pulled into Petrograd. He looked the field over and then told the workingmen and soldiers: **"You made this Revolution, and it belongs to you. Do not let the usurpers keep it away from you; take the power into your own hands."** After the bourgeois showed they could not run the Government of Russia, the workers, soldiers and peasants took Lenin's advice and took the government in their own hands. They made Lenin their Premier and have kept him on the job ever since.

Most Hated and Most Loved.

Lenin is probably the most hated and the most loved man in Europe. The love for him comes from the great masses of the people; the hate for him comes from the old crowd of nobles, landlords and capitalists. A dozen times with dagger and bomb and pistol they have tried to kill him; twice indeed the assassin's bullet entered his body. But he still lives to smile and preach his gospel of revolution and of work. He works hard, himself—eighteen hours a day. Out of this work there will come for the masses a new society, when the toilers need work but six hours or three hours a day. The rest he can give to his mind, to music, and to travel. Lenin believes this is coming and coming soon.

Reported Dead, but Lived.

When Lenin's death was reported in this country, on September 2nd, 1918, the "New York Times" wrote:

"An American . . . . who had rare opportunities of studying Lenin at close range, in the midst of the Russian turmoil, described him as 'the greatest living statesman in Europe.'

". . . . He endeavored to put into practice theories which he had been preaching for many years before the Russian Revolution came to pass. In those years he conceived and worked out in his mind a principle of social revolution which distinguished him from other Socialist thinkers by his uncompromising appeal to the spirit of class revolt.

"This spirit as an indispensable weapon in the construction of an ideal Socialist state he preached with increasing fervor as the years went by, supplementing . . . . it with something that was essentially lacking in the Marxian doctrine,

namely, a political design under which the economic aims of a thorough-going Socialism might be put into effect. This political design found its expression, so far as it has gone, in the present Soviet Government."

Whom have the workingmen of Russia elected as the Commissar of War to defend them against enemies?

Leon Trotzky (Bronstein.)

In 1900 we find Trotzky in solitary confinement in the prison of Odessa. The charge against him was that he had called a meeting out in the woods to organize a laborers' union. When his term was up he did it again. Then they exiled him to Siberia; twice he escaped, one time driving a reindeer 500 miles across the Arctic snows. As a war correspondent in the Balkans, he showed the atrocities on both sides. Olgin says of him:

"His house in Vienna was a poor man's house—poorer than that of an American workingman earning eighteen dollars a week, and containing less furniture than was necessary for comfort. Trotzky had been poor all his life." But his spirit has always been rich, blazing hot. He never lost heart, even though he was hounded from one country to another by the Russian Secret Police. He came to New York in 1916, but when the Revolution broke out he started home. The British held him up at Halifax, but at last he arrived in Petrograd, to be greeted with great joy by the workingmen; they finally made him the President of their great Soviet, of the Red Commune.

Was Trotzky Right?

Trotzky saw that the old Russian army was throwing down its guns and running away from the trenches. So he said: "This old army will not fight. We must have a new army—a Red Army; meantime we must have peace." He went to Brest-Litovsk and told the German Generals to their faces that they were robbers and cut-throats and Imperialists. He said, "With the sword you are writing upon the bodies of living nations. You make us sign this peace at the bayonet's point, but some day you will fall either by our Red Army, or from Revolution within your own country."

Trotzky was right. Almost always he has been right.

"Besides . . . . do you imagine that capitalist control is going to survive everywhere save in Russia? In all the warring countries of Europe I expect to see social revolution after the war. So long as they remain in the trenches the soldiers think of little but their immediate problem—to kill your opponent before he kills you. But when they go home and find their families scattered, perhaps their homes desolate, their industry ruined, and their taxes five times as high as before, they will begin to consider how this awful calamity was brought upon them. They will be open to the demonstration

that the scramble of capitalists and groups of capitalists for foreign markets and exploitable 'colonial' areas, imperialism, secret diplomacy, and armament rivalry promoted by munition makers, brought on the war. Only when they see that the capitalist class is responsible for this terrible disaster to humanity, they will rise and wrest the control from its hands. To be sure, a proletarian Russia cannot get very far in realizing its aims if the rest of the world remains under capitalist regime. But that will not happen."

Who have the workingmen chosen to be Commissar of Education?

M. Lunacharsky.

Lunacharsky is one of the noted writers and scholars of Russia. "Our first aim is to struggle against darkness," he said. "The expenditure on education must stay high. A generous budget for public instruction is the honor and glory of every people." Now every child in Russia attends public school. The children of the upper classes must attend the same schools as those of the workers, for all private schools have been abolished.

One of Lunacharsky's aids in the educational work is Maxim Gorky, one of the greatest of Russian writers. Gorky has been against the Bolsheviks, but lately he has joined them.

Whom did the workingmen elect as Commissar of Public Security?

Alexandra Kollontay, a woman who, among other great works in behalf of the masses, established the Palace of Motherhood. Kollontay is one of the leading sociologists in Russia, and has written many books on mothers and children.

At one time Kollontay called a meeting of all workers in her department, even the servants.

"She was very frank with them at this meeting. Russia, she explained, was bankrupt; there were very little funds to carry on charitable work; no one was to receive even a 'good' salary; she herself was to get $60 a month, which is the salary of every commissar.

"This came as a great blow to the professional social workers, who up to this time had received as much as $10,000 a year. Kollontay shocked them even more by announcing that hereafter all employes should continue to be present at meetings, and that the same consideration would be given to suggestions from scrubwomen as from professional philanthropists."

"I used to go up to Kollantay's office on the Kazenskaya and she explained many of her problems to me. She was very much moved by the way some of her lower employes had responded to her appeal in this crisis. It really was astonishing how much many of these simple and uneducated old servants

understood about the work. And when they once realized that they were a part of the larger plan they gladly worked sixteen hours a day to help Kollontay, whom they all called 'Little Comrade'."—Louise Bryant, "Six Red Months in Russia."

Whom have the working class of Russia chosen as Commissar of Foreign Affairs (State Department)?

Gurge Tschitscherin. He came from an old line of diplomats in Russia. Disgusted with the lying and stealing of the old order, he resigned his position in the London Embassy and joined the Bolsheviks.

Can these men be dismissed from their positions?

At any time the Executive Committee may recall them.

"While the Bolshevik control of the Soviet organization has not been impaired since the formation of the Government, the form of the government is such that this control may be changed whenever the peasants and workmen desire a change." —Major Thatcher.

To what party does Lenin, Trotzky, Lunacharsky, Kollontay and Tschitscherin belong?

They belong to the Communist Party, popularly known as Bolshevik.

What does the word "Bolshevik" mean?

The word "Bolshevik" is the Russian word for "one of the majority," as opposed to and distinguished from the word "Menshevik," or "minority." It is a party which now has a majority of delegates of the workers on its side, and consequently the majority of the delegates in the Soviets. It has changed its name at the present time to Communist Party. It must be clearly kept in mind that the Bolsheviks, though composing the main party in the Soviets, are only one among several parties there.

Are the Bolsheviks intelligent people?

The more educated a workingman is, the more likely he is to be a Bolshevik. The sailors and the Lettish folk in Russia are the most literate people in Russia. Nearly all of them can read and write, and nearly all of them are Bolsheviks.

Why did the working class of Russia select the Bolsheviks for leaders instead of others?

Other political parties have had eloquent and sincere men, but they only talked about giving the people what they wanted—land. peace, and factories. The Bolshevik really gave these things to the people.

Why did not the people choose Breshkovskaya, Tschaikovsky, Kropotkin, such well-known revolutionists?

These leaders are more than seventy years of age. They were great, noble spirits, but they have lost touch with the masses—they are the leaders of the past. Most of the Bolshevik

leaders are young men. Four out of every five in the Soviet are under thirty-five years of age. They are the leaders of the present and the future.

Why did the Russian people continue to keep the Bolsheviks in office?

(a) Because they have proved able and good leaders, who did what the people wanted. (b) Because most of the Bolshevik leaders came out of the ranks of the people themselves, and understand the people's ideas and speak the people's language. (c) Because the capitalists and the rich have called them "murderers and German agents." The people know that these are lies and that the Bolshevik leaders are the most honest and the most sacrificing men in the world.

"I do not claim that the Bolsheviks are angels. These men who have made the Soviet Government in Russia, if they must fail, will fail with clean shield and clean hearts, having striven for an ideal which will live beyond them. Even if they fail, they will none the less have written a page of history more daring than any other which I can remember in the history of the human race. They are writing it amid showers of mud from all the meaner spirits in their country, in yours and in my own. But, when the thing is over, the mud will vanish like black magic at noon, and that page will be as white as the snows of Russia, and the writing on it as bright as the gold domes that I used to see glittering in the sun as I looked from my windows in Petrograd.

"And when in after years men read that page they will judge your country and mine, your race and mine, by the help or hindrance they gave to the writing of it."—Arthur Ransome, Correspondent of the London Daily News.

"The Bolsheviks most of all have helped to make the war not only for democracy, but a war at last of democracy and by democracy. The Bolshevik revolution is the one fertilizing force that throughout Europe is making governments answerable to peoples."—Professor Kallen, of Wisconsin University.

In what way do the Russians have respect for America?

They have great respect for the fine products of our industry, and our wonderful machinery, particularly our harvesters, etc.

Coming out of Siberia, a little Russian about seventeen years of age came on a train, carrying a gun as big as himself. He was a Bolshevik, going out to fight Semenoff, the Cossack General, who wanted to destroy the Workmen's Republic. When he found that we were Americans, he was wild with happiness. "You see, I work in the railroad shops," he said, "and I like engines when they are so full of steam and strong and ready to pull the big trains out on the track. I could almost kiss them. And you Americans, you make the best engines in the world. I almost love you all."

What things in America are there that Russians do not like?

They do not like our blacklists and lockouts, our hired thugs to beat up strikers, our very rich living in palaces and our very poor living in slums. They do not like the way America treats men like Mooney and other fighters for labor.

"Nearly all regard America as a hopelessly 'capitalistic' society and expect that in a few years Russia will far surpass America in the realization of democracy."—Prof. Ross, of Wisconsin University.

What else do the Russians not like about America?

They do not like our ignorance about the great world movement of Socialism; they look upon us as a nation of political illiterates, for four out of every five Russians are Socialists.

"Nearly everybody in Russia was a Socialist, the only difference being in degree . . . . . That being the case, the notion continually advanced in certain British and American quarters of taking by the hand these simple children of nature and leading them kindly up the primary democratic principles of Thomas Jefferson and Lloyd George was always a joke. . . . . Among the Russians, evolution had long passed beyond all such primitive processes and democracy means industrial democracy as much as it means the right to vote, and industrial democracy means the division of the products of industry among those whose toil had created such products.

"In other words, it meant the practical elimination of dividends and interest and with this, it was hoped, there would be an end of want on one side and luxury on the other.

"For some reason, never well explained, it was always extremely difficult to get in America any recognition of these facts."—Charles Edward Russell, "Unchained Russia."

What is the root of trouble between America and Russia?

It is this misunderstanding. Americans think that the American Government is about the best there is in the world, and that Russia ought to have a government and a society like America's. The Russians do not think so. They want one of their own, a Soviet, a great, new experiment in democracy.

But have the Russians education enough to govern themselves?

While fully 60 per cent of them cannot read or write, on the other hand they are intelligent people.

Rodzianko, the ex-President of the Duma, told me that a French engineer came to his estate to set up an engine for his saw mill. He worked for three days, but the engine would not go. Then one of his old peasants, who had been looking on, said, "Let me try to put it together." Within five minutes the engine was set up and running perfectly.

That, to Rodzianko, was an example of the native soil-wisdom of the mass. They are not learned in books, but they are learned in life. With the same sort of minds, not twisted by tradition or warped by prejudice, they look at all questions.

Do the Russians understand the great social and business problems enough to organize a great, new society?

The average Russian workman far better understands all economic and social questions than does the average so-called educated American. The workingmen and peasants of Russia read or have read to them tens of thousands of papers and pamphlets. These papers and pamphlets are not like the cheap, sensational sheets of America, but are solid, strong journals. America has sent over hundreds of men to "educate" the Russian workingmen, but the average Russian workman knows twice as much about the great social problems as these men who are sent to "educate" them.

"How came so much of the mass of Russian people, viewed by all the truly learned as ignorant and stupid, to seize upon a social philosophy so new to the rest of the world and so far in advance of it? . . . . The 'inferior' Russian . . . . lays hold upon this new conception, which is . . . . not simple, not rudimentary, but advocated in many volumes by ponderous thinkers practically unknown to our superior world. Here, it seems to me, is a wonder both historic and suggestive."—"Unchained Russia."

But why debate about the Russian's ability to organize a government? Why not face the fact that they **did organize a great, new government—The Soviet.**

Did the Soviet Government ask for help from America?

They asked for help and were willing to give American concessions in return.

"On numerous occasions the American Red Cross was asked to actively co-operate in various departments of the Soviet Government, including a suggestion that the American Red Cross take charge of the entire food administration in Petrograd; that it take charge of shipments of food from Siberia, and that it handle the purchase of supplies for the Soviet Government, in China, and handle the shipment of these supplies through Siberia. The Soviet Government desires the assistance of the Allies in organizing a revolutionary volunteer army with which to oppose German domination. Nothing whatever can be done by the Allies except in co-operation with this (Soviet) government."—Report of Major Thomas D. Thacher of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia.

Did the Soviets believe they were going to get help from America?

They did. Because President Wilson said "We are fighting for the liberty and self-government and the undictated development of all people." And he sent a mesage to the Russian

people through the great All-Russian Soviet, promising help to Russia.

Did the leaders of the Soviet believe in the assurances of help that President Wilson promised?

Many were skeptical about it, but most of the masses of Russia believed that the heart of the great American people sympathized with them.

When the Soviet in Vladivostok was overturned by the Czecho-Slovaks, the gruzshchiki (longshoremen) rushed to the defense of the Red Staff building. There were only 200 of them and they were surrounded by 20,000 Englishmen, Japanese and Czecho-Slovaks, but they refused to surrender until the building was fired by an incendiary bomb. The workingmen of Vladivostok gathered up the corpses of their dead and made rough coffins for them, painting them red. On July 4, 17,000 of these workers streamed through the streets in a funeral procession. Their Soviets had been destroyed, their comrades had been killed, the Government that they had held had been wrested from their grasp. All around them were the guns and battleships of their enemies. Their hearts were heavy with grief and bitterness.

A sailor, hailing them, suddenly cried out: Comrades! Comrades! We are not alone! We are not alone! I ask you to look away to the flags flying over there on the American battleship Brooklyn. And with the flags of all the other nations there is the red flag of our Russian Republic. No, comrades, we are not alone today in our grief. The Americans understand, and they are with us."

It was a mistake, of course. Those flags had been hung out in celebration of the day of our independence. But these workers did not know that. To them it was like the sudden touch of a friend's hand upon a lonely traveler in a foreign land. With a cry they caught up the shout of the sailor: "The Americans are with us!" And the vast gathering, lifting up their coffins, wreaths and banners, were again in motion. Tired as they were from the long standing in the sun, they made a wide detour to reach the street that runs up the steep hill to the American Consulate. Straight up the sharp slope they toiled in a cloud of dust, still singing as they marched, until they came before the Stars and Stripes floating from the flagstaff. There they stopped and laid the coffins of their dead beneath the flag of the great Western democracy.

They stretched out their hands, crying, "Speak to us a word." They sent delegates within to implore that word. On the day the great republic of the West celebrated its independence the poor and disinherited of Russia came asking sympathy and understanding in the struggle for their independence. In the hour of their affliction these simple trusting folk, makers of the new democracy of the East, came stretching forth their hands to the great, strong democracy of the West.

They knew that President Wilson had given his assurance of help and loyalty to the "people of Russia." They reasoned: "We, the workers and the peasants, the vast majority here in Vladivostok, are we not the people? Today in our trouble we come to claim the promised help." They came, bringing their dead, with the faith that out of America would come compassion and understanding. America, their only friend and refuge.

But America did not understand. The American people did not even hear about it. But these Russian folk did not know that the American people never heard about it. All they know is that a few weeks after that appeal came the landing of the American troops.

And now they say to one another: "How stupid we were to stand there in the heat and the dust, stretching out their hands like beggars!"

What is supposed to be the purpose of intervention?

To bring order into the country and a firm, stable government.

What has intervention accomplished in Russia?

(1) It has overturned the Government of the Soviets in Siberia, which rested on the peasants and workers, and in its stead gave support to the Omsk Government, which is a government of the Cossack Generals, monarchists and landlords and a few old social revolutionists. (2) It has brought anarchy, assassination and hunger to the great masses of workmen and peasants. The Soviet at Vladivostok was established without killing a single human being; but to overthrow the Soviet for 150 miles thousands of peasants and workers were killed and wounded; all the battleships, hospitals and warehouses around Vladivostok were filled with these victims of intervention. (3) It has cut off the great cities of Moscow and Petrograd from the grain supplies of Siberia. (4) It is turning the natural love of the Russians for America into hatred for her.

"THE RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY IS RED"

By Col. William B. Thompson

(Col. Thompson was agent of the Red Cross in Russia following the Revolution. On leaving Russia he donated $1,000,000 to spread the Propaganda of the Soviet Republic in Austria and Germany. The following excerpts are taken from a speech of Col. Thompson before the Rocky Mountain Club of New York, as reported in the New York Tribune of February 3rd, 1918.)

I COME from a people now generally known as the Bolsheviki, who just now are extremely unpopular in the American press. They are held up as assistant Germans and are being denounced for having deserted the Allies and

throwing their influence on the side of the Kaiser. The Bolsheviki at the present moment are a tremendous factor in making the Central Powers of Europe realize that they can never win this war; that they will be forced to the basis of a reasonable and a lasting peace.

The newspapers that are denouncing the Bolsheviki are printing columns about a revolution in Austria-Hungary, a revolution based upon immediate peace with no annexations and no indemnities. This Austro-Hungarian revolution was inspired by the Russian Bolsheviki. The example and efforts of the Russian democracy are setting the Central Powers on fire. The most damaging enemy Germany has is the Russian democracy alongside of it, preaching to the German common people and to the German Soldiers the same doctrine of democratic peace.

When I arrived in Russia last July I found the country almost prostrate through demoralization caused by unopposed German propaganda. German propaganda had brought about a strike through all Russia three days before the declaration of war in 1914. German intrigue and propaganda had so surrounded the Czar that a separate peace was almost impending last March.

Food had been cut off deliberately from Petrograd and other cities in order to cause bread riots and strikes, with the cold intention on the part of the German and Russian autocracies of using these measures as an excuse for a separate peace. The Russian soldiers refused to fire on the hungry people, and the long-sought Russian Revolution was realized with the abdication of the Czar. At the time I reached Petrograd, Kerensky was attempting a coalition government—a government representing the rich and poor. The rich, however, were not satisfied to work with the poor.

German propaganda was busy tearing down. Allied haggling was unconsciously aiding, and this resulted in an attempt to place over Russia a man on horseback—Korniloff. To me it seems that a madder scheme was never conceived in the brain of man. It roused to frenzy the great mass of Russians, who interpreted it as a return to the old order. Just at this time a Russian general, Gurko, who had been deprived of the command of the army for writing letters to the Czar, saying that he hoped to see him return to power, escaped to England and was received in audience by King George.

When you, who have not been in Russia, are puzzling your brains over the Bolsheviki, and wondering why they should be so extreme and so opposed to the property-owning classes, it would be useful for you to remember these things, which will explain why the workingmen and peasants are in absolute control in Russia, and passionately devoted to making their freedom secure. The terrorism under which the limited property-owning class is living in Russia is slight compared

with the terrorism in which the workingman and the peasant live in contemplating a return of the power of the old regime.

We talk about patriots in this country, but we do not know what patriotism is until we see in Russia examples of what I call the patriotism of mankind. While in Russia I met some real patriots. There I met men and women who, for the benefit of their fellows, had spent three-quarters of their lives in prisons and chain-gangs. There I met the heads of the revolutionary groups who, for fifty years and more, had been risking their all for Russian freedom.

Then again, I saw the workings of another group equally patriotic, who believed that ultimate freedom and possession of the land could only be worked out by the workingmen and the peasants.

I will say right here that if at any time during my travels I was a witness of deeds of wanton destruction and violence, it was not in Russia. If at any time, I was subjected to any discourtesy or incivility, it was not in Russia. If at any time I was in danger, it was not in Russia.

There has been considerable civil strife in one section of the country or another, but the reports always appear much more dreadful than the facts really are. Russia is happy in her trials, because Russia has found something which her sons and their fathers and grandfathers and great grandfathers have been striving for. Russia has found freedom. Russia is a democracy. It is a democracy which comes as near being representative of the soil as it would be possible to find anywhere. It has mud on its boots, hair on its face, and the love of freedom in its heart.

Russia is a government of the workingmen and the soldiers, of the peasants and the mechanics. It is a democracy which is striving for the uplift of the great masses. The one great desire or perhaps 94 per cent of Russia's 180,000,000 people is to have peace; to have land which they can control and call their own; to have a part in the industrial life of the country, and feel that they own a part of it; to live lives of order, unrestrained by any czar or dictator, to acquire education, and to improve their condition. This is the impulse which has stirred the Russian people long before and ever since they overthrew the Czar. The Russian democracy wants peace, as we in America want peace, as they want peace in France and England and Italy.

I have been deeply impressed with the effect of the new-found liberty upon the masses of the Russian people. It did not turn them into a vengeful horde, bent on wholesale massacre and bloodshed, the newspaper reports in most part to the contrary notwithstanding. As a matter of fact, it did not change them very much, except that from a sad, brave, protesting people, they become a glad, amicable but rather bewildered people. They attained liberty, and naturally it is taking some time for them to work out the system of govern-

ment under which they will live. They are a kindly people, and as a nation they have very high ideals.

It was Russian democracy which gave to the world the cry that there should be no annexations and no indemnities. That is a cry which should have been appreciated earlier in America and should have resulted in the unswerving sympathy of America being extended to the Russian democracy. It was the democracy of Russia which injected into this war the cry, "No secret treaties!" It was the democracy of Russia which gave to the world the principle of self-determination by small nationalities, which President Wilson has crystallized in his message and which will form the basis for the freedom of the world. In the face of declarations like these from the Russian democracy there has been a torrent of abuse from some of the Russian upper classes and from the American press, which I am sorry to say apparently does not comprehend some of the most important and fundamental elements of the Russian situation.

I urge strongly that we do not relax our efforts to help the Russians. We should not grow impatient because of their attempts to put into practice what we might regard as wild theories. We should always remember our own shortcomings while our government was in the making. Some of the things which we have introduced into our government and which have worked out satisfactorily would have been regarded as wild populism thirty years ago.

The Russians are groping for light. The revolution and the experiments in governments are the natural outbursts of untrained men organizing freedom on their own lines.

They say "The Russian democracy is red!" Yes, full of good red blood—but you'll find it isn't yellow!

IS IT TRUE?

From The Nation.

(The Nation of New York is the oldest political weekly journal in the United States. It is owned and edited by Oswald Garrison Villard. Some time ago Mr. Villard in the public interest addressed certain inquiries, printed below, to the Secretary of State and invited a reply. Receiving none, Mr. Villard prints them in The Nation of November 16th 1918, and again invites an answer. None has as yet been received from Secretary Lansing.)

IS it true that the Administration knew, at the time of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, that the Soviet Government represented by Lenin and Trotzky, was opposed to the projected treaty, and looked forward to signing it only because of the physical impossibility of resisting the German demands unless the Allies, or some of them, came to its aid?

Is it true that Lenin and Trotzky, a week or more previous to the signing of the treaty, handed Raymond Robins, at that time a representative in Russia of the American Red

Cross, a communication to President Wilson declaring their to sign it if the United States would assure them of its moral opposition to the treaty, and stating that they would refuse support in breaking off the negotiations and would send to Russia food and arms?

Is it true that at least two copies of the communication were at once cabled to Washington, one of them to the Department of State, through diplomatic officials of the United States in Russia?

Is it true that the communication was duly received by the Department of State and came under the eye of Secretary Lansing?

Is it true that the communication was not laid before Mr. Wilson at the time, but that Mr. Wilson was ignorant of its existence until after his decision to intervene in Russia had been arrived at and announced.

Is it true that Mr. Robins, who is alleged to have been instrumental in securing the communication from Lenin and Trotzky and having it cabled through diplomatic channels, spent several weeks in Washington upon his return vainly trying to secure an audience with Mr. Wilson; and that in the meantime he was given to understand by the American Red Cross and the Department of State that he was not to make any public statement upon the subject?

Is it true that the former Russian Ambassador, Mr. Bakhmeteff, although no longer the legal diplomatic representative of any existing government in Russia, nevertheless continues to be recognized officially by the Department of State as the Russian Ambassador; that Russian citizens now in this country, having business with the Government, have been informed in writing by the Department of State that their communications must be transmitted through Mr. Bakhmeteff as Russian Ambassador; and that Russian citizens in this country who desired exemption from the draft have been required to have their applications approved by him?

Is it true that the locomotives, cars, and other railway material purchased or contracted for on account of the Russian Government by Prof. George V. Lomonossoff, and legally in his custody at the time when he was removed from office as head of the Russian railway mission by Mr. Bakhmeteff and his papers seized by agents of the Department of Justice, have in part been sold, with the knowledge of the Government, and the proceeds applied to the payment of interest on Russian bonds or for other alleged public purposes, and in part used in aid of Allied military operations in France or elsewhere?

Is it true that a considerable sum of money, variously reported at from $25,000,000 upwards, originally advanced by the United States in aid of the Kerensky Government, was actually used by Kerensky, with the knowledge of the Department of State, in the suppression of a popular rising in Finland?

Is it true that the Russian Information Bureau at New York, organized under the direction and conducted with the approval of Mr. Bakhmeteff, is carried on, in whole or in part, by the aid of funds originally provided by the United States in the form of loans or credits to Russia for other purposes, and now held or administered, directly or indirectly, by Mr. Bakhmeteff as Russian Ambassador; or by the aid of funds from the sale of railway or other property originally belonging to the Russian Government and now held or administered, with the approval of the Government of the United States, by Mr. Bakhmeteff as Russian Ambassador?

Is it true that the Russian Information Bureau was for months actively engaged in working up sentiment in all parts of the United States in favor of intervention in Russia, and that its operations in this direction were conducted with the knowledge or approval of the Department of State or of Mr. Wilson himself?

Is it true that Mr. Bakhmeteff, acting as Russian Ambassador, is at this time carrying on in the United States, through the Russian Information Bureau, or paid lectures, or other means, a systematic propaganda designed to discredit the Soviet Government and to encourage public sentiment in favor of the continuance of intervention in Russia, and that what is being done in this direction is known to the Department of State or to Mr. Wilson?

A LETTER TO THE EXPLOITED MASSES OF AMERICA

By Nikolai Lenin

Moscow, August 20, 1918.

COMRADES: A Russian Bolshevik who participated in the revolution of 1905 and for many years afterward lived in your country has offered to transmit this letter to you. I have grasped this opportunity joyfully, for the revolutionary proletariat of America—in so far as it is the enemy of American imperialism—is destined to perform an important task at this time. * * *

Had the Anglo-French and American bourgeoisie accepted the Soviet invitation to participate in peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, instead of leaving Russia to the mercy of brutal Germany, a just peace without annexations and indemnities, a peace based upon complete equality could have been forced upon Germany, and millions of lives might have been saved. Because they hoped to re-establish the Eastern front by once more

drawing us into the whirlpool of warfare, they refused to attend peace negotiations and gave Germany a free hand to cram its shameful terms down the throat of the Russian people. It lay in the power of the Allied countries to make the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the forerunner of a general peace. It ill becomes them to throw the blame for the Russo-German peace upon our shoulders! * * *

The workers of the whole world, in whatever country they may live, rejoice with us and sympathize with us, applaud us for having burst the iron ring of imperialistic agreements and treaties, for having dreaded no sacrifice, however great, to free ourselves, for having established ourselves as a Socialist republic, even so rent asunder and plundered by German imperialists, for having raised the banner of peace, the banner of Socialism, over the world! What wonder that we are hated by the capitalist class the world over! But this hatred of imperialism and the sympathy of the class-conscious workers of all countries give us assurance of the righteousness of our cause.

He is no Socialist who cannot understand that one cannot and must not hesitate to bring even that greatest of sacrifices, the sacrifice of territory, that one must be ready to accept even military defeat at the hands of imperialism, in the interests of victory over the bourgeoisie, in the interests of a transfer of power to the working class. For the sake of "their" cause, that is, for the conquest of world-power, the imperialists of England and Germany have not hesitated to ruin a whole row of nations, from Belgium to Servia, from Palestine to Mesopotamia. Shall we then hesitate to act in the name of the liberation of the workers of the world from the yoke of capitalism, in the name of a general honorable peace; shall we wait until we can find a way that entails no sacrifice; shall we be afraid to begin the fight until an easy victory is assured; shall we place the integrity and safety of this "fatherland" created by the bourgeoisie over the interests of the International Socialist Revolution? * * *

The great Russian revolutionist, Tchernychewski, once said: Political activity is not as smooth as the pavement of the Newski Prospect. He is no revolutionist who would have the revolution of the proletariat only under the "condition" that it proceed smoothly and in an orderly manner, that the proletarians of all countries immediately go into action, that guarantees against defeat be given beforehand, that the revolution go forward along the broad, free, straight path to victory, that there shall not be here and there the heaviest sacrifices, that we shall not have to lie in wait in besieged fortresses, shall not have to climb up along the narrowest paths, the most impassable, winding, dangerous mountain roads. He is no revolutionist, he has not yet freed himself from the pedantry of bourgeois intellectualism, he will fall back, again and again, into the camp of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

They are little more than imitators of the bourgeoisie, these gentlemen who delight in holding up to us the "chaos" of the revolution, the "destruction" of industry, the unemployment, the lack of food. Can there be anything more hypocritical than such accusations from people who greeted and supported the imperialistic war and made common cause with Kerensky when he continued the war? Is not this imperialistic war the cause of all our misfortune? The revolution that was born by the war must necessarily go on through the terrible difficulties and sufferings that war created, through this heritage of destruction and reactionary mass murder. To accuse us of "destruction" of industries and "terror" is hypocrisy or clumsy pedantry, and shows an incapability of understanding the most elemental fundamentals of the raging, climatic force of the class struggle called revolution.

In words our accusers "recognize" this kind of class struggle, in deeds they revert again and again to the middle-class utopia of "class-harmony" and the mutual "interdependence" of classes upon one another. In reality the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably taken on the form of civil war, and

civil war is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations of the form of democracy in the interests of the war. One must be a sickly sentimentalist not to be able to see, to understand and appreciate this necessity. Only the Tchechow type of the lifeless "Man in the Box" can denounce the revolution for this reason instead of throwing himself into the fight with the whole vehemence and decision of his soul at a moment when history demands that the highest problems of humanity be solved by struggle and war.

The best representatives of the American proletariat —those representatives who have repeatedly given expression of their full solidarity with us, the Bolsheviki— are the expression of this revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English in the eighteenth and the civil war in the nineteenth century. Industry and commerce in 1870 were in a much worse position than in 1860. But where can you find an American so pedantic, so absolutely idiotic as to deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American civil war of 1860-1865?

The representatives of the bourgeoisie understand very well that the overthrow of slavery was well worth the three years of civil war, the depth of destruction, devastation and terror that were its accompaniment. But these same gentlemen and the reform Socialists who have allowed themselves to be cowed by the bourgeoisie and tremble at the thought of a revolution, cannot, nay, will not, see the necessity and righteousness of a civil war in Russia, though it is facing a far greater task, the work of abolishing capitalist wage-slavery and overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The American working class will not follow the lead of its bourgeoisie. It will go with us against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the American people gives me this confidence, this conviction. I recall with pride the words of one of the best loved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene V. Debs, who, in the Appeal to Reason at the end of 1915, when it was still a Socialist

paper, in an article entitled "Why Should I Fight?" said * * * * I am not surprised that this fearless man was thrown into prison by the American bourgeoisie. Let them assault the true internationalists, the real representatives of the revolutionary proletariat. The greater the bitterness and brutality they sow, the nearer is the day of the victorious proletarian revolution.

We are accused of having brought devastation upon Russia. Who is it that makes the accusations? The train-bearers of the bourgeoisie, or that same bourgeoisie that almost completely destroyed the culture of Europe, that has dragged the whole continent back to barbarism, that has brought hunger and destruction to the world. This bourgeoisie now demands that we find a different basis for our revolution than that of destruction, that we shall not build it upon the ruins of war, with human beings degraded and brutalized by years of warfare. O, how human, how just is this bourgeoisie!

Its servants charge us with the use of terroristic methods. * * * Have the English forgotten their 1649, the French their 1793? Terror was just and justified when it was employed by the bourgeoisie for its own purposes against feudal domination. But terror becomes criminal when workingmen and poverty stricken peasants dare to use it against the bourgeoisie. Terror was just and justified when it was used to put one exploiting minority in the place of another. But terror becomes horrible and criminal when it is used to abolish all exploiting minorities, when it is employed in the cause of the actual majority, in the cause of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, of the working class and the poor peasantry.

The bourgeoisie of international imperialism has succeeded in slaughtering ten millions, in crippling twenty millions in its war. Should our war, the war of the oppressed and exploited, against oppressors and exploiters cost a half or a whole million victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie would still maintain that the victims of the world war died a righteous death, that those of the civil war were sacrificed for a criminal cause.

But the proletariat even now, in the midst of the horrors of war, is learning the great truth that all revolutions teach, the truth that has been handed down to us by our best teachers, the founders of modern Socialism. From them we have learned that a successful revolution is inconceivable unless it breaks the resistance of the exploiting class. When the workers and the laboring peasants took hold of the powers of state, it became our duty to quell the resistance of the exploiting class. We are proud that we have done it, that we are doing it. We only regret that we did not do it at the beginning, with sufficient firmness and decision.

We realize that the mad resistance of the bourgeoisie against the Socialist revolution in all countries is unavoidable. We know, too, that with the development of this revolution, this resistance will grow. But the proletariat will break down this resistance and in the course of its struggle against the bourgeoisie the proletariat will finally become ripe for victory and power.

Let the corrupt bourgeois press trumpet every mistake that is made by our revolution out into the world. We are not afraid of our mistakes. The beginning of the revolution has not sanctified humanity. It is not to be expected that the working class which has been exploited and forcibly held down by the clutches of want, of ignorance and degradation for centuries should conduct its revolution without mistakes. The dead body of bourgeois society cannot simply be put into a coffin and buried. It rots in our midst, poisons the air we breathe, pollutes our lives, clings to the new, the fresh, the living with a thousand threads and tendrils of old customs, of death and decay.

But for every hundred of our mistakes that are heralded into the world by the bourgeoisie and its sycophants, there are ten thousand great deeds of heroism, greater and more heroic because they seem so simple and unpretentious, because they take place in the every-day life of the factory districts or in secluded villages, because they are the deeds of people who are not in the habit

of proclaiming their every success to the world, who have no opportunity to do so.

But even if the contrary were true—I know, of course, that this is not so—but even if we had committed 10,000 mistakes to every 100 wise and righteous deeds, yes, even then our revolution would be great and invincible. And it will go down in the history of the world as triumphant. For the first time in the history of the world not the minority, not alone the rich and the educated, but the real masses, the huge majority of the working class itself, are building up a new world, are deciding the most difficult questions of social organization out of their own experience.

Every mistake that is made in this work, in this honestly conscientious co-operation of ten million plain workingmen and peasants in the re-creation of their entire lives—every such mistake is worth ten thousands and millions of "faultless" successes of the exploiting minority in outwitting and taking advantage of the laboring masses. For only through these mistakes can the workers and peasants learn to organize their new existence, to get along without the capitalist class. Only thus will they be able to blaze their way through thousands of hindrances to victorious Socialism.

Mistakes are being made by our peasants who, at one stroke, in the night from October 25 to October 26 (Russian calendar), 1917, did away with all private ownership of land, and are now struggling, from month to month, under the greatest difficulties, to correct their own mistakes, trying to solve in practice the most difficult problems of organizing a new social state, fighting against profiteers to secure the possession of the land for the worker instead of for the speculator, to carry on agricultural production under a system of communist farming on a large scale.

Mistakes are being made by our workmen in their revolutionary activity, who, in a few short months, have placed practically all of the larger factories and works under state ownership, and are now learning, from day to day, under the greatest difficulties, to conduct the

management of entire industries, to reorganize industries already organized, to overcome the deadly resistance of laziness and middle-class reaction and egotism. Stone upon stone they are building the foundation for a new social community, the self-discipline of labor, the new rule of the labor organizations of the working class over their members.

Mistakes are being made in their revolutionary activity by the Soviets which were first created in 1905 by the gigantic upheaval of the masses. The Workmen's and Peasants' Soviets are a new type of state, a new highest form of democracy, a particular form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a mode of conducting the business of the state without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie. For the first time democracy is placed at the service of the masses, of the workers, and ceases to be democracy for the rich, as it is, in the last analysis, in all capitalist, yes, in all democratic republics. For the first time the masses of the people, in a nation of nearly two hundred millions, are fulfilling the task of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, without which Socialism is not to be thought of.

Let incurable pedants, crammed full of bourgeois democratic and parliamentary prejudices, shake their heads gravely over our Soviets, let them deplore the fact that we have no direct elections. These people have forgotten nothing, have learned nothing in the great upheaval of 1914-18. The combination of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the new democracy of the proletariat, of civil war with the widest application of the masses to political problems, such a combination cannot be achieved in a day, cannot be forced into the battered modes of formal parliamentary democratism. In the Soviet Republic there arises before us a new world, the world of Socialism. Such a world cannot be materialized as if my magic, complete in every detail, as Minerva sprang from Jupiter's head.

While the old bourgeois democratic constitutions, for instance, proclaimed formal equality and the right

of free assemblage, the constitution of the Soviet Republic repudiates the hypocrisy of a formal equality of all human beings. When the bourgeois republicans overturned feudal thrones, they did not recognize the rules of formal equality of monarchists. Since we are concerned with the task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, only fools or traitors will insist on the formal equality of the bourgeoisie. The right of free assemblage is not worth an iota to the workman and to the peasant when all better meeting places are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Our Soviets have taken over all usable buildings in the cities and towns out of the hands of the rich and have placed them at the disposal of the workmen and peasants for meeting and organization purposes. That is how our right of assemblage looks—for the workers. That is the meaning and intent of our Soviet, of our Socialist constitution.

And for this reason we are all firmly convinced that the Soviet Republic, whatever misfortune may still lie in store for it, is unconquerable.

It is unconquerable because every blow that comes from the powers of madly raging imperialism, every new attack by the international bourgeoisie will bring new and hitherto unaffected strata of workingmen and peasants into the fight, will educate them at the cost of the greatest sacrifice, making them hard as steel, awakening a new heroism in the masses.

We know that it may take a long time before help can come from you, comrades, American Workingmen, for the development of the revolution in the different countries proceeds along various paths, with varying rapidity (how should it be otherwise!) We know full well that the outbreak of the European proletarian revolution may take many weeks to come, quickly as it is ripening in these days. We are counting on the inevitability of the international revolution. But that does not mean that we count upon its coming at some definite nearby date. We have experienced two great revolutions in our own country, that of 1905 and that of 1917, and we know that revolutions can come neither at a word of

command nor according to prearranged plans. We know that circumstances alone have pushed us, the proletariat of Russia, forward, that we have reached this new stage in the social life of the world not because of our superiority, but because of the peculiarly reactionary character of Russia. But until the outbreak of the international revolution, revolutions in individual countries may still meet with a number of serious setbacks and overthrows.

And yet we are certain that we are invincible, for humanity will not emerge from this imperialistic massacre broken in spirit—it will triumph. Ours was the first country to break the chains of imperialistic warfare. We broke them with the greatest sacrifice, but they are broken. We stand outside of imperialistic duties and considerations, we have raised the banner of the fight for the complete overthrow of imperialism for the world.

We are in a beleaguered fortress, so long as no other international Socialist revolution comes to our assistance with its armies. But these armies exist, they are stronger than ours, they grow, they strive, they become more invincible the longer imperialism with its brutalities continues. Workingmen the world over are breaking with their betrayers, with their Gompers and their Scheidemanns. Inevitably labor is approaching communistic Bolshevistic tactics, is preparing for the proletarian revolution that alone is capable of preserving culture and humanity from destruction. We are invincible. The proletarian Revolution is invincible.

Note: The quotation from Debs in Lenin's original article is considered unprintable under the Espionage Act.

A NOTE FROM THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO PRESIDENT WILSON

ON December 24, 1918, while President Wilson was in London, the following note was transmitted to him by wireless from Stockholm:

Mr. Woodrow Wilson,
President of the United States,
American Embassy, London.

Mr. President: In addition to general peace offer recently addressed by the Soviet Government to the

Allies I formally informed today the Stockholm Ministers of the United States and of the Allied Countries that I am authorized to enter into negotiations for a peaceful settlement of all questions making for hostilities against Russia.

The principles proclaimed by you as possible basis for settling European questions, and your avowed efforts and intentions of making settlement conform to demands of justice and humanity, induce and justify me to send you this statement, inasmuch as most points of your peace programme are included into the more extensive aspirations of the Russian workers and peasants now rulers of their country. It was they who first proclaimed and actually granted to nations right of self-determination, who suffered most sacrifices in fighting imperialism and militarism both at home and abroad, who dealt the severest blow to secret diplomacy and inaugurated open diplomacy. And it was partly for these innovations in politics that they have been fiercely attacked by the former ruling classes of Russia and their counterparts in other countries.

To justify this attack a network of lies and calumnies has been woven round the activities of the Soviets and forged documents put into circulation. Unfortunately Allied statesmen accept all monstrous accusations against Soviets at face value without taking trouble to check them. While agents of anti-Soviet parties are allowed and encouraged to move freely in allied countries and disseminate untruth, representatives of the accused side have never been allowed to put fully their case and to answer charges made against them.

In fact the chief aim of the Soviets is to secure for the toiling majority of Russian people economic liberty without which political liberty is of no avail to them. For eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment which abolition had been part of their programme. It was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian peo-

ple, took to terroristic acts against popular members of the Government and invoked the help of foreign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their wrath and bitter feelings against their former oppressors. For Allied invasion of Russian territory not only compelled the Soviets against their own will to militarize the country anew and to divert their energies and resources so necessary to the economic reconstruction of Russia, exhausted by four years of war, to the defense of the country, but also cut off the vital sources of foodstuffs and raw material, exposing the population to most terrible privation bordering on starvation.

I wish to emphasize that the so-called red terror, which is grossly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause but the direct outcome and result of Allied intervention. The Russian workers and peasants fail to understand how foreign countries, which never dreamt of interfering with Russian affairs when Czarist barbarism and militarism ruled supreme, and which even supported that regime, feel justified in intervening in Russia now when the working people itself after decades of strenuous struggling and countless sacrifices succeeded in taking power and destiny of their country into their own hands, aiming at nothing but their own happiness and international brotherhood, constituting no menace to other nations.

The Russian workers and peasants are determined to defend their dearly won power and liberties against invaders with all the means their vast country offers. But mindful of the inevitable wanton loss of life and treasure on both sides and wishing to avert the further ruining of Russia which must result from the continuation of internal and external fighting, they are prepared to go to any length of concessions as far as real interests of other countries are concerned, if they can secure thereby conditions enabling them to work out peacefully their social schemes.

I understand that the question of relations with Russia is now engaging the attention of Allied statesmen. I

venture then to submit to you, Mr. President, that there are now only two courses open to them. One is continued open or disguised intervention on the present or on a still larger scale, which means prolongation of war, further embitterment of the Russian masses, intensification of internal strife, unexampled bloodshed and perhaps total extermination of the Russian bourgeoisie by the exasperated masses, final devastation of the country and in case of the interventionists after a long struggle obtaining their end, a white terror eclipsing the atrocities of the Finnish white guardists, inevitable introduction of military dictatorship and restoration of monarchy, leading to interminable revolutions and upheavals and paralyzing the economic development of the country for long decades.

The other alternative, which I trust may commend itself to you, is impartially to weigh and investigate into the one-sided accusations against Soviet Russia, to come to an understanding with the Soviet Government, to withdraw the foreign troops from Russian territory and to raise the economic blockade, soothing thereby the excited passions of the masses, to help Russia to regain her own sources of supply and to give her technical advice how to exploit her natural richness in most effective way for the benefit of all countries badly in need of foodstuffs and raw materials.

The dictatorship of toilers and producers is not an aim in itself, but the means of building up a new social system under which useful work and equal rights would be provided for all citizens irrespective of classes to which they had formerly belonged. One may believe in this ideal or not, but it surely gives no justification for sending foreign troops to fight against it or for arming and supporting classes interested in the restoration of the old system of exploitation of man by man.

I venture to appeal to your sense of justice and impartiality. I hope and trust above all that before deciding on any course of action you will give justice to the

demand of "audiatur et altera pars." (Let the other side also be heard.)

MAXIM LITVINOFF,
Late Representative for Great Britain of the Russian Federated Republic.

Stockholm, December 24, 1918.

(The above document has never been made public in America. Many other messages and notes sent by the Soviet Government to other countries, the publication of which would have clarified the Russian situation in the minds of the people, have also been denied publicity.—Bureau of Information on Soviet Russia.)

FROM THE RUSSIAN COMMISSARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(On September 5th, 1918, E. Odier, the Swiss Ambassador, as President of the Diplomatic Corps in Russia, addressed a note to the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs at Moscow, protesting against a class of citizens in Russia without government authority committing acts of violence against the bourgeoisie and expressing the indignation of the Diplomatic Corps at such alleged unwarranted and arbitrary conduct against the former ruling classes. Following is the answer of the Soviet Government):

To the Gentlemen Representing the Capitalist Neutral Nations:

THE note presented to us on the 5th of September by the gentlemen representing the neutral powers represents an act of gross interference into the inner affairs of Russia. The Soviet Government would be justified in ignoring this act. But the Soviet Government is glad to grasp any opportunity of explaining the nature of its political tactics to the masses in all countries, for it is the spokesman not only of the Russian working class, but of exploited humanity all over the earth. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, therefore, gives answer, hereby, to the matter in question.

In their description of the treatment that is being accorded to the suppressed Russian bourgeoisie, the neu-

tral powers are plainly trying to arouse the sympathy of the bourgeoisie all over the world. We do not propose to disprove the fiction of the gentlemen who represent the neutral nations. In their note they repeat all the slander that has been invented by the Russian bourgeoisie to discredit the Red Army. We will not refute individual occurrences, first of all because the gentlemen who represent the neutral powers have presented absolutely no concrete occurrences; secondly, because every war—and we are in the midst of a civil war—brings with it excesses on the part of individuals.

The gentlemen representing the neutral powers did not protest against the individual misdeeds of irresponsible persons, but against the regime that is being carried out by the Government of the Workmen and Peasants against the exploiting class.

Before entering into the reasons why the Government of the Workers and Peasants uses the Red Terror that has called forth the protest of the gentlemen representing the neutral powers, permit us to ask a few questions.

Do the representatives of the neutral nations know that an international war has been raging for almost five years, into which a small clique of bankers, generals and bureaucrats precipitated the masses of the civilized nations of the world? That in this war these masses are destroying each other, cutting each other's throats that capitalism may earn new millions thereby? Do they know that in this war not only millions of men were killed at the front, but that both belligerent parties have attacked open cities with bombs, killing unarmed women and children? Do they know that in this war one of the belligerent parties doomed millions of human beings to death by starvation by cutting off their food supply in direct contradiction to the tenets of international law, that the belligerent party hopes to force the other by starving its children to surrender to the victor? Do they know that the belligerent powers have imprisoned hundreds of thousands of unarmed, peaceable citizens in the enemy's country, sending them to places far from home

into involuntary servitude, depriving them of every right of self-defense? Do they know that in all belligerent nations the ruling capitalist clique has deprived the masses of the right of free press and assemblage and the right to strike? That workingmen are being imprisoned for every attempt to protest against the White Terror of the bourgeoisie, that they are sent to the front that every last thought of human rights may be killed with them?

All these instances of the destructive force that is being directed against the working class in the name of capitalist interests, all these pictures of the White Terror of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat are more than familiar to the neutral nations and their representatives in Russia. Nevertheless, either they forgot their high ideas of humanity or they forgot in these cases to remind the blood-dripping belligerent nations of their misdeeds.

The so-called neutral nations did not dare to utter a word of protest against the White Terror of the capitalist class, nay, more, they did not wish to protest, for the bourgeoisie in all neutral nations have helped the capitalist powers of the capitalist nations to carry on the war because they are earning billions in war contracts with the belligerent nations.

We beg leave to ask another question. Have the gentlemen representing the neutral powers heard of the crushing of the Sinn Feiners in Dublin, of the shooting to death, without due process of law, of hundreds of Irishmen, with Skeffington at their head? Have they heard of the White Terror in Finland, of the tens of thousands of dead, of the tens of thousands of men and women who are languishing in jail, against whom no charges have ever been or will ever be made? Have they never heard of the mass murder of workmen and peasants in Ukraine? Of the mass murder of workmen by the brave Czecho-Slovaks, these hirelings of French capital? The governments of the neutral nations have heard all these things, but never before did it occur to them to protest against the despotism of the bourgeoisie when it oppresses the working-class movement. For they themselves are ready, at any moment, to shoot down working-

men who fight for their rights. In their own countries they stand ready, in the name of the bourgeoisie, and defense of its interests, to crush out every vestige of working-class uprising.

It is sufficient to recall that labor demonstrations were recently routed by military force in Denmark, Norway, Holland, Switzerland, etc. The workers of Switzerland, Holland and Denmark have not yet revolted, but already the governments of these countries are mobilizing their military forces against the weakest protest of the working class. When the representatives of the neutral nations threaten us with the indignation of the entire civilized world, and protest against the Red Terror in the name of humanity, we respectfully call their attention to the fact that they were not sent to Russia to defend the principles of humanity, but to preserve the interests of the capitalistic State; we would advise them further not to threaten us with indignant horror of the civilized world, but to tremble before the fury of the masses who are arising against a civilization that has thrust humanity into the unspeakable misery of endless slaughter.

In the entire capitalist world the White Terror rules over the working class. In Russia the working class destroyed that Czarism whose bloody regime brought no protest from the neutral nations. The working class of Russia put an end to the rule of the bourgeoisie who, under the flag of the revolution, again amidst the deep silence of the neutral powers, slaughtered soldiers who refused to shed their blood in the interests of war speculators, killed peasants because they claimed the land they had cultivated for centuries in the sweat of their brow.

The majority of the Russian people, in the person of the second Congress for the Workmen's, Peasants', Cossacks' and Soldiers' Council, placed the power into the hand of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government. A small handful of capitalists who desired to regain the factories and the banks that were taken from them in the interests of the people, a small handful of land owners who wished to take back the land that had been given to

the peasants, a small handful of generals who wished again to teach the workmen and the sodiers obedience with the whiplash, refused to recognize the decision of the Russian people. With the money of foreign capital they mobilized counter-revolutionary hordes, with whose assistance they tried to cut off Russia from its too free supply in order to choke the Russian revolution with the bony hand of hunger. After they became convinced of the futility of their attempts to overthrow the working-class republic that enjoyed the unbounded confidence and support of the working class, they arranged counter-revolutionary uprisings in the attempt to crowd the Workmen's and Peasants' Government from its positive work, to hinder it in its task of ridding the country of anarchy that had taken hold of the country in consequence of the criminal policies of former governments. They betrayed Russia on the South, North and East into the hands of foreign imperialistic states, they called foreign bayonets, wherever they could muster them, into Russia. Hidden behind a forest of foreign bayonets, they are sending hired murderers to kill the leaders of the working class, in whom not only the proletariat of Russia but all the massacred humanity sees the personification of its hopes. The Russian working class will crush without mercy this counter-revolutionary clique, that is trying to lay the noose around the neck of the Russian working class with the help of foreign capital and the Russian bourgeoisie.

In the face of the proletariat of the whole world we declare that neither hypocritical protests nor pleas will protect those who take up arms against the workers and the poorest farmers, who would starve them and embroil them into new wars in the interests of the capitalist class. We assure equal rights and equal liberties to all who loyally do their duty as citizens of the Socialist Workmen's and Peasants' Government. To them we bring peace, but to our enemies we bring war without quarter. We are convinced that the masses in all countries who are writhing under the oppression of a small group of exploiters will understand that in Russia force is being used only in the holy cause of the liberation of

the people, that they will not only understand us, but will follow our example.

We decidedly reject the interference of neutral capitalist powers in favor of the Russian bourgeoisie, and declare that every attempt on the part of the representatives of these powers to overstep the boundaries of legal protection for the citizens of their own country will be regarded as an attempt to support the counter-revolution.

People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs,
G. W. TSCHITSCHERIN.

THE WAY TO MAKE WAR IMPOSSIBLE

ON October 24, 1918, the following note was handed in by People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs Tschitscherin to the Norwegian Attache in Moscow, Mr. Christiansen, for transmission to President Wilson:

To the President of the United States of North America, Mr. Woodrow Wilson!

Mr. President—In your message of January 8th to the Congress of the United States of North America, in the sixth point, you spoke of your profound sympathy for Russia, which was then conducting, single-handed, negotiations with the mighty German imperialism. Your programme, you declared, demands the evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her political development and national policy, and assure her a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. And you added that "the treatment accorded to her by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their goodwill, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy."

The desperate struggle which we were waging at Brest-Litovsk against German imperialism apparently only intensified your sympathy for Soviet Russia, for you sent greetings to the Congress of the Soviets, which under the threat of a German offensive ratified the Brest peace of violence—greetings and assurances that Soviet Russia might count upon American help.

Six months have passed since then, and the Russian people have had sufficient time to get actual tests of your Government's and your Allies' good will, of their comprehension of the needs of the Russian people, of their intelligent unselfish sympathy. This attitude of your Government and of your Allies was shown first of all in the conspiracy which was organized on Russian territory with the financial assistance of your French Allies and with the diplomatic co-operation of your Government as well—the conspiracy of the Czecho-Slovaks to whom your Government is furnishing every kind of assistance.

For some time attempts had been made to create a pretext for a war between Russia and the United States by spreading false stories to the effect that German war prisoners had seized the Siberian Railway, but your own officers, and after them Colonel Robins, the head of your Red Cross Mission, had been convinced that these allegations were absolutely false. The Czecho-Slovak conspiracy was organized under the slogan that unless these misled unfortunate people be protected, they would be surrendered to Germany and Austria; but you may find out, among other sources, from the open letter of Captain Sadoul, of the French Military Mission, how unfounded this charge is. The Czecho-Slovaks would have left Russia in the beginning of the year had the French Government provided ships for them. For several months we have waited in vain for your Allies to provide the opportunity for the Czecho-Slovaks to leave. Evidently these Governments have very much preferred the presence of the Czecho-Slovaks in Russia—the results show for what object—to their departure for France and their participation in the fighting on the French front. The best proof of the real object of the Czecho-Slovak rebellion is the

fact that, although in control of the Siberian Railway, the Czecho-Slovaks have not taken advantage of this to leave Russia, but by the order of the Entente Governments, whose directions they follow, have remained in Russia to become the mainstay of the Russian counter-revolution. Their counter-revolutionary mutiny, which made impossible the transportation of grain and petroleum on the Volga, which cut off the Russian workers and peasants from the Siberian stores of grain and other materials and condemned them to starvation—this was the first experience of the workers and peasants of Russia with your Government and with your Allies after your promises of the beginning of the year. And then came another experience: an attack on North Russia by Allied troops, including American troops, their invasion of Russian territory without any cause and without a declaration of war, the occupation of Russian cities and villages, executions of Soviet officials and other acts of violence against the peaceful population of Russia.

You have promised, Mr. President, to co-operate with Russia in order to obtain for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her political development and her national policy. Actually this co-operation took the form of an attempt of the Czecho-Slovak troops, and later, in Archangel, Murmansk and the Far East, of your own and your Allies' troops, to force the Russian people to submit to the rule of the oppressing and exploiting classes, whose domination was overthrown by the workers and peasants of Russia in October, 1917. The revival of the Russian counter-revolution, which has already become a corpse, attempts to restore by force its bloody domination over the Russian people—such was the experience of the Russian people, instead of co-operation for the unembarrassed expression of their will which you promised them, Mr. President, in your declarations.

You have also, Mr. President, promised to the Russian people to assist them in their struggle for independence. Actually this is what has occurred: While the Russian people were fighting on the Southern front

against the counter-revolution, which has betrayed them to German imperialism and was threatening their independence, while they were using all their energy to organize the defense of their territory against Germany at their Western frontiers, they were forced to move their troops to the East to oppose the Czecho-Slovaks, who were bringing them slavery and oppression, and to the North—against your Allies' and your own troops, which had invaded their territory, and against the counter-revolutions organized by these troops.

Mr. President, the acid test of the relations between the United States and Russia have quite different results from those that might have been expected from your message to the Congress. But we have reason not to be altogether dissatisfied with even these results, since the outrages of the counter-revolution in the East and North have shown the workers and peasants of Russia the aims of the Russian counter-revolution, and of its foreign supporters, thereby creating among the Russian people an iron will to defend their liberty and the conquests of the revolution, to defend the land that it has given to the peasants and the factories that it has given to the workers. The fall of Kazan, Symbyrsk, Syzran and Samara should make clear to you, Mr. President, what were the consequences for us of the actions which followed your promises of January 18. Our trials helped us to create a strongly united and disciplined Red Army, which is daily growing stronger and more powerful and which is learning to defend the revolution. The attitude toward us which was actually displayed by your Government and by your Allies could not destroy us; on the contrary, we are now stronger than we were a few months ago, and your present proposal of international negotiations for a general peace finds us alive and strong and in a position to give in the name of Russia our consent to join the negotiations. In your note to Germany you demand the evacuation of occupied territories as a condition which must precede the armistice during which peace negotiations shall begin. We are ready, Mr. President, to conclude an armistice on these conditions, and we ask you

to notify us when you, Mr. President, and your Allies intend to remove your troops from Murmansk, Archangel and Siberia. You refuse to conclude an armistice unless Germany will stop the outrages, pillaging, etc., during the evacuation of occupied territories. We allow ourselves, therefore, to draw the conclusion that you and your Allies will order the Czecho-Slovaks to return the part of our gold reserve fund which they seized in Kazan, that you will forbid them to continue as heretofore their acts of pillaging and outrages against the workers and peasants during their forced departure (for we will encourage their speedy departure, without waiting for your order),

With regard to your other peace terms, namely, that the Governments which would conclude peace must express the will of the people, you are aware that our Government fully satisfies this condition. Our Government expresses the will of the Councils of Workmen's, Peasants' and Red Army Deputies, representing at least 80 per cent of the Russian people. This cannot, Mr. President, be said about your Government. For the sake of humanity and peace, we do not demand as a prerequisite of general peace negotiations that all nations participating in the negotiations shall be represented by Councils of People's Commissaries, elected at a congress of Councils of Workingmen's, Peasants and Soldiers' Deputies. We know that this form of government will soon be the general form and that a general peace, when nations will no more be threatened with defeat, will leave them free to put an end to the system and the cliques that forced upon mankind this universal slaughter, and which will, in spite of themselves, surely lead the tortured peoples to create Soviet Governments that give exact expression to their will.

Agreeing to participate at present in negotiations with even such Governments as do not yet express the will of the people,we would like on our part to find out from you, Mr. President, in detail what is your conception of the League of Nations, which you propose as the crowning work of peace. You demand the independence of Poland, Serbia, Belgium, and freedom for the peoples

of Austria-Hungary. You probably mean by this that the masses of the people must everywhere first become the masters of their own fate in order to unite afterward in a league of free nations. But, strangely enough, we do not find among your demands the liberation of Ireland, Egypt or India, nor even the liberation of the Philippines, and we would be very sorry if these people should be denied the opportunity to participate, together with us, through their freely elected representatives, in the organization of the League of Nations.

We would also, Mr. President, very much like to know, before the negotiations with regard to the formation of a League of Nations have begun, what is your conception of the solution of many economic questions which are essential for the cause of future peace. You do not mention the war expenditures—this unbearable burden which the masses would have to carry, unless the League of Nations should renounce payments on the loans to the capitalists of all countries. You know as well as we, Mr. President, that this war is the outcome of the policies of all capitalistic nations, that the governments of all countries were continually piling up armaments, that the ruling groups of all civilized nations pursued a policy of annexations, and that it would, therefore be extremely unjust if the masses, having paid for these policies with millions of lives and with economic ruin, should yet pay to those who are really responsible for the war a tribute for their policies which resulted in all these countless miseries. We propose, therefore, Mr. President, the annulment of the war loans as the basis of the League of Nations. As to the restoration of the countries that were laid waste by the war, we believe it is only just that all nations should in this respect aid the unfortunate Belgium, Poland and Serbia; and however poor and ruined Russia seems to be, she is ready on her part to do everything she can to help these victims of the war, and she expects that American capital, which has not at all suffered from this war and has even made many millions in profits out of it, will do its part to help these peoples.

But the League of Nations should not only liquidate the present war, but also make impossible any wars in the future. You must be aware, Mr. President, that the capitalists of your country are planning to apply in the future the same policies of encroachment and of super-profits in China and in Siberia; and that, fearing competition from Japanese capitalists, they are preparing a military force to overcome the resistance which they may meet from Japan. You are no doubt aware of similar plans of the capitalists and ruling circles of other countries with regard to other territories and other peoples. Knowing this, you will have to agree with us that the factories, mines and banks must not be left in the hands of private persons, who have always made use of the vast means of production created by the masses of the people to export products and capital to foreign countries in order to reap super-profits in return for the benefits forced on them, their struggle for spoils resulting in imperialistic wars. We propose, therefore, Mr. President, that the League of Nations be based on the expropriation of the capitalists of all countries. In your country, Mr. President, the banks and the industries are in the hands of such a small group of capitalists that, as your personal friend, Colonel Robins, assured us, the arrest of twenty heads of capitalistic cliques and the transfer of the control, which by characteristic capitalist methods they have come to possess, into the hands of the masses of the world is all that would be required to destroy the principal source of new wars. If you will agree to this, Mr. President—if the sources of future wars will thus be destroyed—then there can be no doubt that it would be easy to remove all economic barriers and that all the peoples, controlling their means of production, will be vitally interested in exchanging the things they do not need for the things they need. It will then be a question of an exchange of products between nations, each of which produces what it can best produce, and the League of Nations will be a league of mutual aid of the toiling masses. It will then be easy to reduce the armed forces to the limit necessary for the maintenance of internal safety.

We know very well that the selfish capitalistic class will attempt to create this internal menace, just as the Russian landlords and capitalists are now attempting with the aid of American, English and French armed forces, to take the factories from the workers and the land from the peasants. But, if the American workers, inspired by your idea of a League of Nations, will crush the resistance of the American capitalist as we have crushed the resistance of the Russian capitalists, then neither the German nor any other capitalists will be a serious menace to the victorious working class, and it will then suffice, if every member of the commonwealth, working six hours in the factory, spends two hours daily for several months in learning the use of arms, so that the whole people will know how to overcome the internal menace.

And so, Mr. President, though we have had experience with your promises, we nevertheless accept as a basis your proposals about peace and about a League of Nations. We have tried to develop them in order to avoid results which would contradict your promises, as was the case with your promise of assistance to Russia. We have tried to formulate with precision your proposals on the League of Nations in order that the League of Nations should not turn out to be a league of capitalists against nations. Should you not agree with us, we have no objection to an "open discussion of your peace terms," as the first point of your peace programme demands. If you will accept our proposals as a basis, we will easily agree on the details.

But there is another possibility. We have had dealings with the president of the Archangel attack and the Siberian invasion, and we have also had dealings with the president of the League of Nations Peace Programme. Is not the first of these—the real president—actually directing the policies of the American capitalist Government? Is not the American Government rather a government of the American corporations, of the American industrial, commercial and railroad trusts, of the American banks—in short, a government of the Americn capi-

talists? And is it not possible that the proposals of this government about the creation of a League of Nations will result in new chains for the people, in the organization of an international trust for the exploitation of the workers and the suppression of weak nations? In this latter case, Mr. President, you will not be in a position to reply to our questions, and we will say to the workers of all countries: Beware! Millions of your brothers, thrown at each other's throats by the bourgeoisie of all countries, are still perishing on the battlefields, and the capitalist leaders are already trying to come to an understanding for the purpose of suppressing with united forces those that remain alive when they call to account the criminals who caused the war!

However, Mr. President, since we do not at all desire to wage war against the United States, even though your Government has not yet been replaced by a Council of People's Commissaries and your post is not yet taken by Eugene Debs, whom you have imprisoned; since we do not at all desire to wage war against England, even though the Cabinet of Mr. Lloyd George has not yet been replaced by a Council of People's Commissaries with MacLean at its head; since we have no desire to wage war against France, even though the capitalist Government of Clemenceau has not yet been replaced by a workmen's government of Merheim; just as we have concluded peace with the imperialist Government of Germany, with Emperor William at its head, whom you, Mr. President, feel as alien as we, the Workmen's and Peasants' Revolutionary Government, from you—we finally propose to you, Mr. President, that you take up with your Allies, the following questions and give us precise and definite replies: Do the Governments of the United States, England and France consent to cease demanding the blood of the Russian people and the lives of Russian citizens, if the Russian people will agree to pay them a ransom such as a man who has been suddenly attacked pays to the one who attacked him? If so, just what tribute to the Government of the United States, England and France demand of the Russian people?

Do they demand concessions, that the railways, mines, gold deposits, etc., shall be handed over to them on certain conditions, or do they demand territorial concessions, some part of Siberia or Caucasia, or perhaps the Murmansk Coast? We expect from you, Mr. President, that you will definitely state just what you and your Allies demand, and also whether the alliance between your Government and the Governments of the other Entente Powers is in the nature of a combination which could be compared with a corporation for drawing dividends from Russia, or does your Government and the other Governments of the Entente Powers have each separate and special demands, and what are they? Particularly are we interested to know the demands of your French allies with regard to the three billions of rubles which the Paris bankers loaned to the Government of the Czar—the oppressor of Russia and the enemy of his own people. And you, Mr. President, as well as your French allies, surely know that even if you and your Allies should succeed in enslaving and covering up with blood the whole territory of Russia—which will not be allowed by our heroic revolutionary Red Army—that even in that case the Russian people, worn out by the war and not having had sufficient time to take advantage of the benefits of the Soviet rule to elevate their national economy, will be unable to pay to the French bankers the full tribute for the billions that were used by the Government of the Czar for purposes injurious to the people. Do your French allies demand that a part of this tribute be paid in installments, and if so—what part, and do they not anticipate that their claims will result in similar claims by other creditors of the infamous Government of the Czar which has been overthrown by the Russian people? We can hardly think that your Government and your Allies are without a ready answer, when your and their troops are trying to advance on our territory with the evident object of seizing and enslaving our country. The Russian people, through the people's Red Army, are guarding their territory and are bravely fighting against your invasion and against the attacks of your Allies. But

your Government and the Governments of the other Powers of the Entente, undoubtedly, have well prepared plans, for the sake of which you are shedding the blood of your soldiers. We expect that you will state your demands very clearly and definitely. Should we, however, be disappointed, should you fail to reply to our quite definite and precise questions, we will draw the only possible conclusion—that we are justified in the assumption that your Government and the Governments of your Allies desire to get from the Russian people a tribute both in money and in natural resources of Russia, and territorial concessions as well. We will tell this to the Russian people as well as to the toiling masses of other countries, and the absence of a reply from you will serve for us as a silent reply. The Russian people will then understand that the demands of your Government and of the Governments of your Allies are so severe and vast that you do not even want to communicate them to the Russian Government.

People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs,
G. W. TSCHITSCHERIN.

THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

ADDRESSING a joint meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet and of other labor organizations held in Moscow on October 22, about two weeks before the breaking out of the revolt in Germany which forced the abdication of the Kaiser and hastened the practical surrender of the German armies on November 11, Nikolai Lenin, Bolshevist Premier, as reported in the Berlin Tagwacht of November 7, spoke as follows:

"Comrades, I believe our present situation, despite all the contradictions it contains, can be characterized by two theses: First, that we never before stood so near the international proletarian revolution as at present; second, that we on the other hand never found ourselves in a more dangerous position than now.

"And the most serious part of our situation consists in the fact that the broad masses of the people are hardly aware of the danger that menaces us. Therefore, it must be one of the principal tasks of the Soviet representatives to make the present situation clear to the broad masses—no matter how difficult this task may sometimes be. The weightiest objection that was raised against the Soviet Government, not only by the bourgeoisie, but also from the ranks of the lower middle class that had lost faith in Socialism, was that we allegedly had begun the Socialist Revolution in Russia in a reckless manner, as the revolution in Western Europe was not yet due.

"Comrades, now in the fifth year of the world war the general collapse of imperialism is an evident fact; now it is clear that the revolution in all the belligerent countries is unavoidable. We, however, whose existence at the beginning was counted by days or weeks at the most, have done more in this year of the revolution than ever has been done by any other proletarian party in the world. The bourgeoisie no longer denies that Bolshevism is now an international phenomenon. Of course, you know that the revolution has broken out in Bulgaria and that the Bulgarian soldiers are organizing Councils, Soviets, after the Russian model. Now comes the news that similar Soviets are in the process of being organized also in Serbia. The national bourgeoisie of the various small states of Austria will not be able to hold out. In Austria, too, the revolution of the workers and peasants is knocking at the door everywhere.

"In Germany the press already talks openly of the abdication of the Kaiser, and the Independent Social Democratic Party now dares to speak of the German Republic. This certainly means something! The German revolution is already a fact. The military party talks about it openly. In East Prussia revolutionary committees have been formed; revolutionary slogans are being uttered. The Scheidemann gang will not remain at the helm very long; it does not represent the broad masses of the people, and the proletarian revolution in Germany is inevitable.

"So far as Italy is concerned, the revolutionary sentiment of the proletariat of that country is evident to us. When Gompers, the social patriot who has handed himself over to the bourgeoisie, visited the cities of Italy and preached patriotism to the workers, he was hissed out everywhere. During the war the Italian Socialist Party has taken a big step toward the left.

"In France at the beginning of the war the number of patriots among the workers was only too great, for it was declared that the soil of France and Paris were menaced. But there, too, the attitude of the proletariat is changing. When a letter was read to the last convention telling what mischief the Entente was up to in Russia there were shouts of 'Long live the Russian Socialist Republic!' and 'Long live the Soviets!' Yesterday we got word that at a meeting held in Paris, 2000 metal workers greeted the Soviet Republic.

"And in England it is true that the so-called Independent Socialist (Labor?) Party has not openly entered into an alliance with the Bolsheviki, but its sympathies for us are constantly on the increase. The Socialist Labor Parties of Scotland have even come out openly for the Bolsheviki.

"This fact looms up before us entirely on its own initiative. Bolshevism has become a world theory and the tactics of the international proletariat. And the workingmen of all countries, who formerly read only the lying and calumnious articles and the news reports of the bourgeois press, are now beginning to take stock of what is happening in Russia. And when last Wednesday a demonstration took place in Berlin, and the workers—in order to show their ill-will toward the Kaiser—wanted to march in front of his palace, they then went to the Russian Embassy in order thus to announce their solidarity with the act of the Russian labor government.

"So, Europe has got this far in the fifth year of the war. Therefore, we also declare that we never were so near to the world-wide revolution as we are today. Our allies are millions and millions of proletarians in all the countries of the world. But for all that, I repeat that

our situation never before was so precarious as it is at present, because in Europe, as well as in America, Bolshevism is being reckoned with as a world power and a world danger.

"Immediately following the conclusion of the peace of violence (Brest-Litovsk) we began the positive work of building up the republic. As soon as we gave an opportunity to the peasants actually to get along without the land owners, and a chance to the industrial workers to arrange their own life without the capitalists, as soon as the people understood that it could manage the State itself, without slavery and exploitation, then it became clear to everyone, and also manifested itself in practice, that no power and no counter-revolution in the world would be able to overthrow the Soviet power, i, e., the government of the workers and peasants. It required many months for us to come to this conviction in Russia.

"In the cities the revolution began to consolidate itself already in November, 1917, but in the country it did not do so until the summer of 1918. In the Ukraine, on the Don, and in various other places, the peasants have had occasion to feel the power of the Constituants and the Czech-Slovaks in their own affairs. This required many, many months, but our agricultural population comes out of the struggle hardened. The farmers finally became aware of the danger menacing them from the side of the capitalists and the land owners, but were not frightened, and merely said to themselves: 'We have learned much in a single year, but we shall learn still more.'

"The West Europe bourgeoisie, that up to now has not taken the Bolsheviki seriously, is now becoming aware that in Russia a power has arisen and stands there alone which is able to arouse true heroism and a genuine spirit of self-sacrifice in the masses. When this proletarian power began to infect Europe the bourgeoisie of the world noted that it, too, must reckon with this enemy. And so the bourgeoisie began to unite more closely in proportion as we drew nearer to the proletarian world revolution which flared up, now here, now there.

"Now the situation for us, for the Russia of the Soviets, has changed and events are following their course at a quickened pace. Before, we had to deal with two groups of imperialistic robber states, that were striving to destroy each other. But now they have noticed, especially by the example of German imperialism, that their principal enemy is the revolutionary proletariat. By reason of this fact a new danger for us has now arisen, a danger that as yet has not quite unfolded itself, and is not yet fully visible—the danger that the Anglo-French imperialists are quietly preparing for us. We must keep this danger clearly before our eyes, so that we, with the aid of the leaders of the masses, with the help of the representatives of the workers and peasants, may make the broad masses of the people aware of this danger.

"In German Government circles we may now observe two lines of thought, two plans for salvation, as it were, if there can be any talk at all of salvation. One group says: 'We want to gain time and hold out until spring; perhaps we may succeed in winning by arms!' The other group says that it is of the greatest importance to arrive at an agreement with England and France at the expense of the Bolsheviki. In this connection one might believe that between the English and French on the one side and Germany on the other a tacit agreement something like this exists: 'Don't you Germans leave the Ukraine so long as we have not yet arrived there. See to it that the Bolsheviki don't get in, then everything else will be adjusted.' And the Germans take great pains to do so, for they know that for proved service they, too, will get some of the loot.

"That is the judgment of the Anglo-French imperialists, for they very well understand that the bourgeoisie of the occupied districts—Finland, the Ukraine, or Poland—will not be able to hold its ground a single day after the withdrawal of the German garrisons. And the bourgeoisie of these countries, who only yesterday sold their territory to the Germans, are today offering their fatherland to the English and the French.. This conspiracy of the bourgeoisie of all countries against the

revolutionary workers and the Bolsheviki is constantly becoming more clearly outlined and becomes cynically apparent. So it is our direct duty to point out this danger to the workers and peasants of all the belligerent countries.

"But for us, comrades, the German revolution is favorable. Considering the power and the degree of organization of the German proletariat, we may believe that the German revolution will develop such power and will be so well organized that it will solve a hundred international problems. Only we must know how to march in line with the German revolution, not to run ahead of it and injure it, but to help it. And our comrades, the communists of the Ukraine, must bear this in mind. Our principal work must be carrying on propaganda, but a daring, persistent propaganda.

"We must not forget that Germany forms the most important link in the revolutionary chain. The success of the world revolution depends to the greatest degree upon Germany. We must not fail to consider the changes and excrescences accompanying every revolution. In every country the revolution follows its particular ways and these ways are so different and tortuous that in many countries the revolution can be delayed one or two years. Every country must pass through definite political stages in order to arrive at the very same point, the inevitable proletarian revolution. And although the international proletariat is now awakening and making important progress, we must confess that our position is particularly difficult because our enemies direct their attacks against us as their principal enemy. Now they are preparing to fight, not against hostile armies, but against international Bolshevism.

"We must direct our entire attention at present to our southern front, where the fate, not only of Russia, but also of the international revolution, is to be decided. We have many prospects of victory. But what favors us most of all is the fact that a change has taken place in the popular feeling. The people has grasped the fact that in defending Soviet Russia it is not defending the

interests of the capitalists, but its own interests, its own country and desires, its factories and shops, its life and liberty. The discipline of the Red Army is gaining, but it is not the discipline of the club, but the discipline of Socialism, the discipline of a society of equals.

"The army is turning out thousands of officers who have gone through the course of study in the new proletarian military schools, and other thousands who have only gone through the hard school of war itself. Our southern front is the front against the whole Anglo-French imperialism, against the most important opponent we have in the world. But we do not fear this opportunity, for we know that it will soon face the struggle with its 'internal enemy.' Three months ago it was said that only the half-crazy Bolsheviki could believe in the German revolution; but today we see how in the course of a few months Germany has changed from a mighty empire to a rotten tree trunk. The force that has overthrown Germany is also working in England. It is only weak today, but with every step that the English and French advance in Russia this force will steadily rise to power and will even become more terrible than the Spanish influenza.

"The seriousness of the situation must be apparent to every worker who knows what he is aiming at and he must make the masses see it, too. The people of workers and peasants is mature enough to be allowed to know the whole truth. The danger is great, but we must, and shall, overcome it, and for this purpose we must develop and solidify the Red Army without halting. We must make it ten times as strong and large as it is. Our forces must grow with every day, and this constant growth will give us the guarantee, as before, that international Socialism will be the victor."

A MEMORANDUM FROM THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE.

On Thursday, March 20th, it was announced that Mr. L. A. Martens had been appointed official representative of the Russian Soviet Republic in the United States, and that he had forwarded his credentials to Washington on the preceding day.

We are now enabled to give out the memorandum submitted with the official credentials to the State Department. In this interesting document Mr. Martens reviews the guiding lines pursued by the Soviet Government in its relations with other governments, and emphasizes the desire of the Soviet Government to enter into trade relations with the United States. He also gives an outline of the present situation in Russia. In support of this statement, Mr. Martens quotes a note to President Wilson in December, when the latter was in London, from Maxim Litvinoff, an authorized representative of the Soviet Government, then in Sweden. This and other data mentioned in the memorandum reprinted below, can be found in the previous four numbers of the Bulletin.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was established on the 6th of November, 1917, by a spontaneous uprising of the toiling masses of Russia. Its Government, the Council of the People's Commissars, is a Government controlled by and responsible to all such members of the population of Russia are willing to perform useful work, physical or mental. Those who, while not being unable to work, deliberately refuse to exercise their productive abilities, choosing to live on the fruits of the labor of other people, are eliminated from participation in the control of my Government.

Under present conditions those who are willing to work for the common good, number at least ninety per cent of the adult population in the area controlled by the Soviets. All such people have full political and civic rights.

The basis for citizenship in Russia being industrial and economic rather than political, and the social system being of such a nature that every person engaged in useful social labor is bound to participate in public affairs, the percentage of people directly participating in the management of society in Soviet Russia is higher than has been the case anywhere in the world hitherto. The Russian Soviet Republic affords thereby the widest possible field for a real expression of a conscious popular will. While the Soviet Government is a Government of the working class, the abolition of exploitation of labor and the elimination thereby of class division creates a productive community in which all able inhabitants are bound to become useful workers who have full political rights. My government thus becomes the expression of fully one hundred per cent of the people. It should also be noted that political rights are granted in Russia to every inhabitant engaged in useful work, though he be not a citizen of Russia but only temporarily working there.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was rapidly acclaimed by the vast majority of the laboring people throughout the former empire of Russia. It has maintained itself in the face of manifold plots and opposition on the part of small groups of the former ruling classes who in many cases enlisted foreign

help and who employed the most unscrupulous methods in their fight against the Soviet institutions. Yet, nowhere in Russia could such elements of their own accord organize any noticeable resistance to the popular will, as expressed by the Soviet Government. Only in sparsely populated outlying districts and in such of those districts where our opponents had access to foreign military help, has it been possible for them to maintain any organized opposition and to wrest from the control of Soviet Russia any territory. Today, after sixteen months of existence the Russian Soviet Republic finds itself more securely established than at any previous time.

During the current year the Soviet Government has been particularly successful in retaking vast territories wrested from its control during the preceding months. By February, 1919, the Soviet troops on the northern front had retaken the city of Shenkursk and adjoining territory. On the Eastern front they have lost Perm, but they have regained Pereufa, Ufa, Sterlitamak, Bellbey, Orenburg and Uralsk. The railroad connection with Central Asia is at present in the hands of the Soviet Government. On the Southern front they have taken the railroad stations of Pavorino, Alexikovo, Polovaya, Kalatsk and Begutchar, which have assured them of a control over the railroads of that region, while on the southeastern front the Ukrainian Soviet troops threaten the army of Krasnov from Ugansk in the rear. In the Ukraine the Soviet troops have acquired Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Poltava, Krementchug, Tchernikov, and Obrutch. In the Baltic provinces and in Lithuania the Soviet power has been extended over a great part of the territory formerly occupied by Germans, with the large cities of Minsk, Vilna, Riga, Mitau, Dvinsk, Windau and others in the control of adherents of the Soviet.

These last mentioned successes are largely due to the fact that after the evacuation by the German armies of the territories wrested from Russia during the war and by the peace treaty of Brest Litovsk, which the Soviet Republic was forced to sign under duress, the workers in such territories everywhere are rising to support the ideals and the social order represented by the Soviet Republic.

The resentment against the former ruling classes, who did not hesitate to invite foreign military help against their own people has evinced itself in an ever increasing popular support of the Soviet Government, even among such people as at first were either hostile or indifferent to the Soviet rule. Men and women of literary or technical training and of intellectual accomplishments are now in great numbers rallying to the support of the Soviet Government and co-operate with it in all administrative branches. The peasantry of Russia, the great majority of which from the very outset was in support of the workers' revolution, has become more consciously attached to our social system, realizing that in the support of the workers'

republic lies the only guarantee for their remaining in control of the land which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The economic isolation of Russia which so far has prevented the Soviet Government from adequately supplying the peasants with implements that they so badly need, is of course causing hardship among the peasantry, yet the peasants generally do not place the blame for this privation at the door of the Soviet Government, well realizing that it is due to the deliberate interference in the affairs of the Russian people by hostile groups and that a remedy for this privation is not a weakening but a strengthening of the Soviet power. They fully realized—and their experience in such instances where counter-revolutionary forces temporarily succeeded in overthrowing Soviet institutions clearly demonstrated the correctness of this realization—that an overthrow of the Soviet rule, if possible at all, would lead to the establishment of a tyrannical, reactionary, bloody autocracy.

The remarkable improvement in the internal situation of Soviet Russia appears from the negotiations which the members of the former Constituent Assembly have begun with the Soviet Government. Representatives of the former Constituent Assembly, as Chernov, Rakitnikov, Svatitzki, Volski, Bourevoy, Chernenkov, Antonov, all of whom are also members of the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party, recently arrived in Moscow to participate in a conference with the Soviet Government with the view of giving support to our republic. This conference has led to an understanding whereby these well known Social Revolutionists and former bitter opponents have ceased their opposition and declared themselves with great emphasis against the Entente intervention in Russia.

An improvement of the Soviet Government's relations with the elements formerly hostile to it in Russian society is also indicated by the change of the attitude of the Mensheviki, whose conference has likewise protested against the Entente intervention.

The army of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has been successfully organized and number today over a million men. A system of universal military training has been inaugurated which steadily supplies the army with accessions with a view of creating a force numbering, by the end of the current year three million men. The forces of the Government are led partly by officers of the former Russian armies who have proved their allegiance to the Soviet Government and partly by officers developed from the rank and file by the military educational institutions established by my government. The Commissariat of War has been successful in establishing and maintaining a strict discipline within the ranks of the army, a discipline not based on fear of punishment or on docile submission, but on the ardent conviction of the workers from

whose ranks the army is recruited that it is their privilege as well as their duty to defend their social achievements against encroachments from any sources. This same conviction of the necessity of the defense of our revolutionary achievements has made it possible for us, in spite of all economic obstacles, efficiently to organize the production of military supplies.

The Soviet Government inherited a legacy of utter financial disruption created by four years of war and a year of revolution. This state of affairs, and also the necessity of co-ordinating the financial system of Russia with the new industrial and economic system represented by my Government, necessitated a complete reorganization of the financial institutions on the basis of common property rights. This reorganization which aims at exchanging the money system for a system representing labor value is still in the state of formation. Regardless thereof the Soviet Government in as far as financial relations with and obligations to other countries are concerned, is prepared to offer modes of financial transactions adapted to the financial system of other countries.

The period preceding the establishment of the Soviet Government also badly disrupted the machinery for producing and distributing. The Soviet Government inaugurated a system of public control and ownership of industries. It has actually taken over many important branches of industry, and has established the control of the Supreme Council of National Economy over all industries. Great handicaps have been faced because of the obstructionist methods of our opponents, lack of raw material and machinery, and because of the general confusion unavoidably coincident with the gigantic reorganization of the industrial life. In spite of these handicaps, various branches of industry have been reestablished, even with an increase of productive efficiency. Many branches of industry, however, have not so far been able to recuperate, because of lack of raw material and lack of machinery. The needs of such industries offer a wide field for business transactions with Russia by other countries.

The state of railroad communications at the outset of the Soviet regime was very unsatisfactory. The demands first of the demobilization of the old army and later of military operations against counter-revolutionary attacks taxed the capacity of our railroads and left little opportunity for reconstruction work in this field. The Soviet Government during the past year, nevertheless, has managed to build and to complete the building of about 2,000 versts of new railroads. It has also paid great attention to the construction of other means of communication, such as canals, roads, etc., and is at the present time planning work along these lines on a large scale, which will also offer great opportunities for foreign trade.

The people of Russia, kept for hundreds of years away from sources of popular education, have made it one of the main

tasks of my Government to reorganize the school system with the view of the greatest possible achievements in the field of popular education. In this respect extensive work has been carried on throughout Russia during the past year. Tens of thousands of new primary schools, vocational schools, workers' universities and lecture courses, especially courses offering agricultural instruction, have been established and maintained at great expense on the part of the Soviet Government and the field of the educational activities has been extended to include the making of the treasures of the arts and sciences as easily accessible to the people as possible.

All these efforts, incomplete as they still are, have, nevertheless given the Russian people sufficient evidence of the earnestness of the desire and of the ability of the Soviet Government to fill the needs of the population and they have greatly contributed to the abatement of opposition. Inasmuch as opposition has ceased in the form of active resistance to the Soviet Government it has become possible to lighten such extraordinary measures as censorship, martial law, etc.

Much prejudice has been created against the Soviet Government by the circulation of false reports about the nature of the institutions of and the measures undertaken by Soviet Russia. One of the most frequent allegations has been that the rule of the Soviets is one of violence and murder. In this connection I want to call your attention to the following passages in the note sent to the President of the United States on the 24th of December, 1918, by Maxim Litvinoff, on behalf of the Soviet Government in Russia.

— — — "The chief aim of the Soviets is to secure for the toiling majority of Russian people economic liberty without which political liberty is of no avail to them. For eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment which abolition had been part of their program. It was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terroristic acts against popular members of the Government and invoked the help of foreign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their wrath and bitter feelings against their former oppressors. For allied invasion of Russian territory not only compelled the Soviets against their own will to militarize the country anew and to divert their energies and resources, so necessary to the economic reconstruction of Russia, exhausted by four years of war, to the defense of the country, but also cut off the vital sources of foodstuffs and raw material, exposing the population to the most terrible privation bordering on starvation."

— — — "I wish to emphasize that the so-called red terror, which is so grossly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause but the direct outcome and result

of allied intervention. The Russian workers and peasants fail to understand how foreign countries, which never dreamt of interfering with Russian affairs when Czarist barbarism and militarism ruled supreme, and which even supported that regime, feel justified in intervening in Russia now when the working people themselves, after decades of strenuous struggling and countless sacrifices, succeeded in taking the power and destiny of their country into their own hands, aiming at nothing but their own happiness and international brotherhood, constituting no menace to other nations."

In another passage of the same note Mr. Litvinoff states as follows:

— — — "The best means for the termination of violence in Russia would be to reach a settlement which would include the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Russia and the cessation of direct or indirect assistance to such groups in Russia as still indulge in futile hopes of an armed revolt against the Workers' Government but who by themselves alone would not think of such a possibility if they could not reckon on assistance from abroad."

The great work of social reconstruction inaugurated by the Soviet Government as the executors of the people's will has been hampered by the necessity of military defense against the opponents of our republic, and by the economic isolation of Soviet Russia which has been one of the weapons of their attacks, together with deliberate disruption of our means of communications with important food centers, as well as destruction of food stores,—and all this has greatly increased the sufferings of our people. By tremendous efforts and by efficient consolidation of all economic means at its disposal, my Government has been able to stave off the worst features of this situation. The fact that economic disruption together with starvation and lack even the bare necessities of life prevails so poignantly, and all the more in such parts of the former Russian empire as have been for some time in the hands of the opponents of our republic and which have had contact with the outside world, clearly testifies that the Soviet rule is much more capable of insuring means of existence to the people than any pretenders to the power in Russia.

In view of all that is stated above, I venture to say that the Soviet Government has given all such proofs of stability, permanence, popular support and constructive ability as ever have been required from any Government in the world as a basis for political recognition and commercial intercourse. I am confident that the people outside of Russia are becoming as convinced as the Russian people themselves of the futility of efforts to overthrow the Soviet Government. Such efforts lead only to unnecessary bloodshed and if successful in any part of Russia, lead to temporary establishment of a bloody, monarchial autocracy, which cannot maintain itself and even

the temporary existence of which will lead to bloodshed and misery.

Fully realizing that the economic prosperity of the world at large, including Soviet Russia, depends on uninterrupted interchange of products between various countries, the Soviet Government of Russia desires to establish commercial relations with other countries, and especially with the United States. The Soviet Government is prepared at once to buy from the United States vast amounts of finished products, on terms of payment fully satisfactory to the parties concerned. My Government also desires to reach an agreement in respect to exports from Russia of raw material needed by other countries and of which considerable surpluses exist in Russia. In order to re-establish the economic integrity of Russia and to insure uninterrupted commercial relations, the Russian workers and peasants, as Mr. Litvinoff stated in the above quoted note, "are prepared to go any length of concessions as far as the real interests of other countries are concerned, of course with the understanding that no agreements entered into should impair the sovereignty of the Russian people, as expressed by the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

On the part of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic there thus exist no obstacles to the establishment of proper relations with other countries, especially with the United States. The Soviet Government of Russia is willing to open its doors to citizens of other countries for peaceful pursuit of opportunity, and it invites any scrutiny and investigation of its conditions, which I feel sure will prove that peace and prosperity in Russia,—and elsewhere, in as far as the prosperity of Russia affects other countries—may be attained by the cessation of the present policy of nonintercourse with Soviet Russia, and by the establishment of material and intellectual intercourse.

Russia is now prepared to purchase in the American market great quantities of the following commodities, commensurate with the needs of 150,000,000 people: Railroad supplies, agricultural inplements and machinery, factory machinery, tools, mining machinery and supplies, electrical supplies, printing machinery, textile manufactures, shoes and clothing, fats and canned meats, rubber goods, typewriters and office supplies, automobiles and trucks, chemicals, medical supplies, etc.

Russia is prepared to sell the following commodities: Flax, hemp, hides, bristles, furs, lumber, grain, platinum, metals and minerals.

The Russian Government, in the event of trade being opened with the United States, is prepard to place at once in banks in Europe and America, gold to the amount of two hundred million dollars ($200,000,000) to cover the price of initial purchases.

To insure a basis for credits for additional Russian purchases in the United States, I suggest that detailed negotiations

with my Government will evolve propositions fully acceptable for this purpose.

I am empowered by my Government to negotiate for the speedy opening of commercial relations for the mutual benefit of Russia and America, and I shall be glad to discuss details at the earliest opportunity.

(Signed) L. A. Martens, Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(Signed) S. Nuorteva, Secretary of the Bureau of the Representatives.

THE RED FUNERAL AT VLADIVOSTOK

By Albert Rhys Williams in the New Republic

IT was the Fourth of July. I was standing on the Kitaiskaya looking down upon the holiday flags on the American battleship in Vladivostok Bay. Suddenly I heard a far-away sound. Listening, I caught the strains of the revolutionary hymn:

"With heavy hearts and sad we bring our dead
Who shed their blood in the fight for freedom."

Looking up, I saw on the crest of the hill the first lines of the funeral procession of the gruzschiki.

Four days before, when the Czecho-Slovaks, aided by Japanese and English troops, suddenly seized the Soviet and its officials, throwing confusion and terror into the ranks of the workers, the gruzschiki (longshoremen) rushed into the Red Staff Building, and, though outnumbered forty to one, refused to surrender until the building was fired by an incendiary bomb.

Today, their people were burying the defenders of the fallen Soviet. Out of the workmen's quarters they streamed, jamming the street not from curb to curb but from wall to wall. They came billowing over the hilltop by thousands until the whole long slope was choked with the dense slow-moving throng, keeping time to the funeral march of the revolutionists.

Up through the gray and black mass of men and women ran two lines of white-bloused sailors of the Bolshevik fleet. Above their heads tossed a cloud of crimson standards with silvered cords and tassels. In the vanguard, four men carried a huge red banner with the words: "Long live the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies! Hail to the International Brotherhood of Toilers!"

A hundred girls in white, carrying the green wreaths from forty-four unions of the city, formed a guard of honor for the coffins of the gruzschiki, which, with the red paint still wet upon them, were borne upon the shoulders of their comrades. The music crashed out by the Red Fleet Band was lost in the volume of song that rose from the seventeen thousand singers.

Here was color and sound and motion—but there was a something else, a something which compelled fear and awe. I have seen a score of the great processions of Petrograd and Moscow, peace and victory and protest and memorial parades, military and civilian. They were all vast and impressive because the Russians have a genius for this kind of thing.

But this was different.

From the defenseless poor, stripped of their arms, and with sorrow bearing of their dead, there came a threat more menacing than that which frowned from the twelve-inch guns of the Allied Fleet, riding in the harbor below. It was impossible not to feel it. It was so simple, so spontaneous and so elemental. It came straight out of the heart of the people. It was the people, leaderless, isolated, beaten to earth, thrown upon its own resources and yet out of its grief rising magnificently to take command of itself.

The dissolution of the Soviet, instead of plunging the people into inactive grief and dissipating their forces, begot a strange, unifying spirit. Seventeen thousand separate souls were welded into one. Seventeen thousand people, singing in unison found themselves thinking in unison. With a common mass will and mass consciousness, they formulated their decision from their class standpoint—the determined standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Czeko-Slovaks came, offering a guard of honor, "Ne noozhna!" (It is not necessary!) they replied. "You killed our comrades. Forty to one you fought against them. They died for the Soviet and we are proud of them. We thank you but we cannot let the guns which shot them down guard them in their death!"

"But there may be danger for you in the city," said the authorities.

"Never mind," they answered. "We, too, are not afraid of death. And what better way to die than beside the bodies of our comrades!"

Some bourgeois societies came presenting memorial wreaths. (The Cadets officially denied that these wreaths came from them.)

"Ne noozhna, it is not necessary," the people answered. "Our comrades died in a struggle against the bourgeoisie. They died fighting clean. We must keep their memory clean. We thank you but we dare not lay your wreaths upon their coffins."

The prosession poured down the Aleutskaiya Hill, filled the large, open space at the bottom, and faced up toward the English Consulate. Near by was a work-car with a tower for repairing electric wires. Whether it was there by design or accident I do not know. Presently it was to serve as a speaker's rostrum. But there seemed to be no speaker and no programme. There was only a crowd and stillness.

The band played a solemn dirge. The men bared their heads. The women bowed. The music ceased and there was silence. And yet there was no speaker. It was like a huge Quaker meeting in the open air. And just as a sermon has no place in Russian public worship so here a speech was not essential to this act of public devotion. But should someone from the people feel the impulse to speak there was the platform awaiting him. It was as if in the pause the people were generating a voice.

At last out of the crowd one came and climbed upon the high platform. He had not the gift of oratory, but his frequent iteration, "They died for us," "They died for us," touched others to utterance.

Most eloquent of all was a lad of seventeen, the secretary of the league of young Socialists.

"We were students, and artists and such kind of people. We held ourselves aloof from the Soviet," he said. "It seemed to us foolish for workmen to govern without the wisdom of the wise. But now we know that you were right and we were wrong. From now on we shall stand with you. What you do, we will do. We pledged our tongues and pens to make known the wrongs that you have suffered the length and breadth of Russia and throughout the world."

Suddenly the word went through the throng that Constantin Soochanov had been paroled until five o'clock and that he was coming with counsels of peace and moderation. Soochanov was the president of the Soviet, a student twenty-four years of age, son of a high official of the Czar, and hero in a revolution that is not given to hero-worship.

While some were affirming his coming and others were denying it, he himself appeared. He was quickly passed along the shoulders of the sailors. In a storm of cheers, he climbed the ladder and came out upon the platform-top, smiling.

Twice his eyes swept across that field of upturned faces, filled with trust and love and hungrily awaiting the words of their young leader. As if to avert the flood of tragedy and pathos that beat suddenly upon him from every side, he turned his head away. His eyes fell for the first time upon the red coffins of the men who had been slain in defense of his Soviet and upon the mothers, wives and children of the men who lay within them. That was too much for him. A shudder passed through his frame, he threw up his hands, staggered and would have fallen headlong into the crowd, but a friend caught him. With both hands pressed to his face, Soochanov, in the arms of his comrades, sobbed like a child. We could see his breath come and go and the tears raining down his cheeks. The Russians are little given to tears. But that day there were seventeen thousand Russians who sobbed with their young leader on the public square of Vladivostok.

But Soochanov knew that many tears were an indulgence and that he had a big and serious task to perform. Fifty feet behind him was the English Consulate and fifty rods before him were the waters of the Golden Horn with the frowning guns of the Allied Fleet. He wrenched himself away from his grief and gathering himself together began his message. With an ever mounting passion of earnestness he spoke, closing with the words which shall henceforth be the rallying cry for the workers in Vladivostok and the Far East:

"Here before the Red Staff Building where our comrades gruzschiki were slain, we swear by these red coffins that hold them, by their wives and children that weep for them, by the red banners which float over them, that the Soviet for which they died shall be the thing for which we live—or if need be—like them, die. Henceforth the return of the Soviet shall be the goal of all our sacrifice and devotion. To that end we shall fight with sticks and clubs, and when these are gone then with our bare fists and bodies. Now it is for us to fight only with our hands and spirits. Let us make them hard and strong and unyielding. The Soviet is dead. Long live the Soviet!"

The crowd caught up the closing words in a tremendous demonstration mingled with the strains of the "International":

"Arise ye prisoners of starvation,
Arise ye wretched of the earth,
For Justice thunders condemnation
A better world's in birth—"

The resolution proclaiming the restoration of the Soviet the object of all the future struggles of the revolutionary proletariat and peasants of the Far East was read. At the call for the vote seventeen thousand hands shot into the air. They were the hands which had built the cars and paved the streets, forged the iron, held the plow and swung the hammer. All kinds of hands they were: the big, rough hands of the old gruzschiki, the artisans' deft and sinewy, the knotted hands of the peasants, thick with callouses and thousands of the frailer, white hands of the working women. By these hands riches of the Far East had been wrought. They were no different from the scarred, stained hands of labor anywhere in all the world. Except in this regard. For a time they had held the power. The government had been within their grasp. Four days ago it had been wrested from their grasp but the feel of it was still within their hands—these hands, raised now in solemn pledge to take that power again . . . .

A sailor, striding down from the hilltop, pushed through the crowd and climbed upon the platform. "Comrades! Comrades!" he cried joyously, "We are not alone. We are not alone. I ask you look away to the flags flying over there on the American battleship. But you cannot see them down there where you stand. But they are there. And with the flags of all other na-

tions there is the red flag of our Russian Republic. No, comrades, we are not alone today in our grief. The Americans understand and they are with us!"

It was a mistake, of course. Those flags had been hung out in celebration of our Day of Independence. But the crowd did not know that. To them it was like the sudden touch of a friend's hand upon a lonely traveler in a foreign land. With enthusiasm they caught up the cry of the sailor: "The Americans are with us!" And the vast conclave, lifting up their coffins, wreaths and banners were once more in motion. They were going to the cemetery but not directly. Tired as they were from long standing in the sun, they made a wide detour to reach the street that runs up the hill to the American Consulate. Then straight up to the sharp slope they toiled in a cloud of dust, still singing as they marched, until they came before the stars and stripes floating from the flagstaff. And there they stopped and laid the coffins of their dead beneath the flag of the great western democracy.

They stretched out their hands crying. "Speak to us a word!" They sent delegates within to implore that word. On the day the great republic of the west celebrated its independence the poor and disinherited of Russia came asking sympathy and understanding in the struggle for their independence. Afterwards, I heard a Bolshevik leader bitterly resentful at this "compromise with revolutionary honor and integrity."

"How stupid of them," he said. "How insane of them! Have we not told them that all countries are alike—all imperialists? Was this not repeated to them over and over again by their leaders?"

Truly it had been. But with this demonstration of the Fourth of July the leaders had little to do. They were in prison. The affair was in the hands of the people themselves. And, however cynical many leaders were about the professions of Americans, the people were not so. In the hour of their affliction, these simple trusting folk, makers of the new democracy of the East, came stretching forth hands to the great strong democracy of the West.

They knew that President Wilson had given his assurance of help and loyalty to the "people of Russia." They reasoned. "We the workers and peasants, the vast majority here in Vladivostok, are we not the people? Today in our trouble we come to claim the promised help. Our enemies have taken away our Soviet. They have killed our comrades. We are alone and in distress and you alone of all the nations of the earth can understand." No finer tribute could they offer than thus to come bringing their dead with the faith that out of America would come compassion and understanding. America, their only friend and refuge.

But America did not understand. The American people did not even hear about it. But these Russian folk did not

know that the American people never heard about it. All they know is that a few weeks after that appeal came the landing of the American troops.

And now they say to one another: "How stupid we were to stand there in the heat and dust stretching out our hands like beggars!"

THE RUSSIAN CONSTITUTION

The following translation of the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Republic is made from an official printed text embodying the latest provisions, and required by law to be posted in all places in Russia.—Reprinted from The Nation.

CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC.

Resolution of the 5th All-Russian Congress of Soviets, Adopted on July 10, 1918.

THE declaration of rights of the laboring and exploited people (approved by the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets in January, 1918), together with the Constitution of the Soviet Republic, approved by the fifth Congress, constitutes a single fundamental law of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

This fundamental law becomes effective upon the publication of the same in its entirety in the "Izvestia of the All-Russian General Executive Committee." It must be published by all organs of the Soviet Government and must be posted in a prominent place in every Soviet institution.

The fifth Congress instructs the People's Commissariat of Education to introduce in all schools and educational institutions of the Russian Republic the study and explanation of the basic principles of this Constitution.

ARTICLE ONE.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF THE LABORING AND EXPLOITED PEOPLE.

Chapter One.

1. Russia is declared to be a Republic of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. All the central and local power belongs to these Soviets.

2. The Russian Soviet Republic is organized on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national Republics.

Chapter Two.

3. Bearing in mind as its fundamental problem the abolition of exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters,

the establishment of a Socialist society, and the victory of Socialism in all lands, the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies further resolves:

a. For the purpose of realizing the socialization of land, all private property in land is abolished, and the entire land is declared to be national property and is to be apportioned among husbandmen without any compensation to the former owners, in the measure of each one's ability to till it.

b. All forests, treasures of the earth, and waters of general public utility, all implements whether animate of inanimate, model farms and agricultural enterprises, are declared to be national property.

c. As a first step towards complete transfer of ownership to the Soviet Republic of all factories, mills, mines, railways, and other means of production and transportation, the Soviet law for the control by workmen and the establishment of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy is hereby confirmed, so as to assure the power of the workers over the exploiters.

d. With reference to international banking and finance, the third Congress of Soviets is discussing the Soviet decree regarding the annulment of loans made by the Government of the Czar, by landowners and the bourgeoisie, and it trusts that the Soviet Government will firmly follow this course until the final victory of the international workers' revolt against the oppression of capital.

e. The transfer of all banks into the ownership of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, as one of the conditions of the liberation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capital, is confirmed.

f. Universal obligation to work is introduced for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society and organizing the economic life of the country.

g. For the purpose of securing the working class in the possession of the complete power, and in order to eliminate all possibility of restoring the power of the exploiters, it is decreed that all toilers be armed, and that a Socialist Red Army be organized and the propertied class be disarmed.

Chapter Three.

4. Expressing its absolute resolve to liberate mankind from the grip of capital and imperialism, which flooded the earth with blood in this present most criminal of all wars, the third Congress of Soviets fully agrees with the Soviet Government in its policy of breaking secret treaties, of organizing on a wide scale the fraternization of the workers and peasants of the belligerent armies, and of making all efforts to conclude a general democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, upon the basis of the free determination of the peoples.

5. It is also to this end that the third Congress of Soviets insists upon putting an end to the barbarous policy of the bour-

geois civilization which enables the exploiters of a few chosen nations to enslave hundreds of millions of the toiling population of Asia, of the colonies, and of small countries generally.

6. The third Congress of Soviets hails the policy of the Council of People's Commissars in proclaiming the full independence of Finland, in withdrawing troops from Persia, and in proclaiming the right of Armenia to self-determination.

Chapter Four.

7. The third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies believes that now, during the progress of the decisive battle between the proletariat and its exploiters, the exploiters can not hold a position in any branch of the Soviet Government. The power must belong entirely to the toiling masses and to their plenipotentiary representatives—the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies.

8. In its effort to create a league—free and voluntary, and for that reason all the more complete and secure—of the working classes of all the peoples of Russia, the third Congress of Soviets merely establishes the fundamental principles of the federation of Russian Soviet Republics, leaving to the workers and peasants of every people to decide the following question at their plenary sessions of their Soviets: whether or not they desire to participate, and on what basis, in the federal government and other federal Soviet institutions.

ARTICLE TWO.

GENERAL PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC.

Chapter Five.

9. The fundamental problem of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic involves, in view of the present transition period, the establishment of a dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry in the form of a powerful All-Russian Soviet authority, for the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men and of introducing Socialism, in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a state of autocracy.

10. The Russian Republic is a free Socialist society of all the working people of Russia. The entire power, within the boundaries of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, belongs to all the working people of Russia, united in urban and rural Soviets.

11. The Soviets of those regions which differentiate themselves by a special form of existence and national character may unite in autonomous regional unions, ruled by the local Congress of the Soviets and their executive organs.

These autonomous regional unions participate in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic upon the basis of a federation.

12. The supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic belongs to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and, in periods between the convocation of the Congress, to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

13. For the purpose of securing to the toilers real freedom of conscience, the church is to be separated from the state and the school from the church, and the right of religious and anti-religious propaganda is accorded to every citizen.

14. For the purpose of securing the freedom of expression to the toiling masses, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic abolishes all dependence of the press upon capital, and turns over to the working people and the poorest peasantry all technical and material means of publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, etc., and guarantees their free circulation throughout the country.

15. For the purpose of enabling the workers to hold free meetings, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic offers to the working class and to the poorest peasantry furnished halls, and takes care of their heating and lighting appliances.

16. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, having crushed the economic and political power of the propertied classes and having thus abolished all obstacles which interfered with the freedom of organization and action of the workers and peasants, offers assistance, material and other, to the workers and the poorest peasantry in their effort to unite and organize.

17. For the purpose of guaranteeing to the workers real access to knowledge, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic sets itself the task of furnishing full and general free education to the workers aand the poorest peasantry.

18. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic considers work the duty of every citizen of the Republic, and proclaims as its motto: "He shall not eat who does not work."

19. For the purpose of defending the victory of the great peasants' and workers' revolution, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic recognizes the duty of all citizens of the Republic to come to the defense of their Socialist Fatherland, and it, therefore, introduces universal military training. The honor of defending the revolution with arms is given only to the toilers, and the non-toiling elements are charged with the performance of other military duties.

20. In consequence of the solidarity of the toilers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic grants all political rights of Russian citizens to foreigners who live in the territory of the Russian Republic and are engaged in toil and who belong to the toiling class. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic also recognizes the right of local Soviets to grant citizenship to such foreigners without complicated formality.

21. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic offers shelter to all foreigners who seek refuge from political or religious persecution.

22. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, recognizing equal rights of all citizens, irrespective of their racial or national connections, proclaims all privileges on this ground, as well as oppression of national minorities, to be in contradiction with the fundamental laws of the Republic.

23. Being guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic deprives all individuals and groups of rights which could be utilized by them to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution.

ARTICLE THREE.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE SOVIET POWER

A. ORGANIZATION OF THE CENTRAL POWER.

Chapter Six.

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Cossacks', and Red Army Deputies.

24. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is composed of power of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

25. The all-Russian Congress of Soviets is composed of representatives of urban Soviets (one delegate for 25,000 voters), and of the representatives of the provincial (Gubernia) congresses of Soviets (one delegate for 125,000 inhabitants).

Note 1. In case the Provincial Congress is not called before the All-Russian Congress is convoked, delegates for the latter are sent directly from the county (Ouezd) Congress.

Note 2. In case the Regional (Oblast) Congress is convoked indirectly, previous to the convocation of the All-Russian Congress, delegates for the latter may be sent by the Regional Congress.

26. The All-Russian Congress is convoked by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee at least twice a year.

27. A special All-Russian Congress is convoked by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee upon its own initiative, or upon the request of local Soviets having not less than one-third of the entire population of the Republic.

28. The All-Russian Congress elects an All-Russian Central Executive Committee of not more than 200 members.

29. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is entirely responsible to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

30. In the periods between the convocation of the Congresses, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme power of the Republic.

Chapter Seven.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

31. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme legislative, executive and controlling organ of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

32. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee directs in a general way the activity of the workers' and peasants' Government and of all organs of the Soviet authority in the country, and it co-ordinates and regulates the operation of the Soviet Constitution and of the resolutions of the All-Russian Congresses and of the central organs of the Soviet power.

33. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee considers and enacts all measures and proposals introduced by the Soviet of People's Commissars or by the various departments, and it also issues its own decrees and regulations.

34. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee convokes the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, at which time the Executive Committee reports on its activity and on general questions.

35. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee forms a Council of People's Commissars for the purpose of general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and it also forms departments (People's Commissariats) for the purpose of conducting various branches.

36. The members of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee work in the various departments (People's Commissariats) or execute special orders of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Chapter Eight.

The Council of People's Commissars.

37. The Council of People's Commissars is entrusted with the general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

38. For the accomplishment of this task the Council of People's Commissars issues decrees, resolutions, orders, and, in general, takes all steps necessary for the proper and rapid conduct of government affairs.

39. The Council of People's Commissars notifies immediately the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of all its orders and resolutions.

40. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee has the right to revoke or suspend all orders and resolutions of the Council of People's Commissars.

41. All orders and resolutions of the Council of People's Commissars of great political significance are turned over for consideration and final approval to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Note. Measures requiring immediate execution may be enacted directly by the Council of People's Commissars.

42. The members of the Council of People's Commissars stand at the head of the various People's Commissariats.

43. There are seventeen People's Commissars:

a. Foreign Affairs.
b. Army.
c. Navy.
d. Interior.

e. Justice.
f. Labor.
g. Social Welfare.
h. Education.
i. Post and Telegraph.
j. National Affairs.
k. Finances.
l. Ways of Communication.
m. Agriculture.
n. Commerce and Industry.
o. National Supplies.
p. State Control.
q. Supreme Soviet of National Economy.
r. Public Health.

44. Every Commissar has a College (Committee) of which he is the President, and the members of which are appointed by the Council of People's Commissars.

45. A People's Commissar has the individual right to decide on all questions under the jurisdiction of his Commissariat, and he is to report on his decision to the College. If the College does not agree with the Commissar on some decisions, the former may, without stopping the execution of the decision, complain of it to the executive members of the Council of People's Commissars or to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. Individual members of the College have this right also.

46. The Council of People's Commissars is entirely responsible to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

47. The People's Commissars and the Colleges of the People's Commissariats are entirely responsible to the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

48. The title of People's Commissar belongs only to the members of the Council of People's Commissars, which is in charge of general affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and it cannot be used by any other representative of the Soviet power, either central or local.

Chapter Nine.

Affairs in the Jurisdiction of the All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

49. The All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee deal with questions of state, such as:

a. Ratification and amendment of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

b. General direction of the entire interior and foreign policy of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

c. Establishing and changing boundaries, also ceding territory belonging to the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

d. Establishing boundaries for regional Soviet unions belonging to the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, also settling disputes among them.

e. Admission of new members to the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and recognition of the secession of any parts of it.

f. The general administrative division of the territory of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and the approval of regional unions.

g. Establishing and changing of weights, measures ,and money denominations in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

h. Foreign relations, declaration of war, and ratification of peace treaties.

i. Making loans, signing commercial treaties, and financial agreements.

j. Working out a basis and a general plan for the national economy and for its various branches in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

k. Approval of the budget of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

l. Levying taxes and establishing the duties of citizens to the state.

m. Establishing the bases for the organization of armed forces.

n. State legislation, judicial organization and procedure, civil and criminal legislation, etc.

o. Appointment and dismissal of the individual People's Commissars or the entire Council; also approval of the President of the Council of People's Commissars.

p. Granting and cancelling Russian citizenship and fixing rights of foreigners.

q. The right to declare individual and general amnesty.

50. Besides the above-mentioned questions, the All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee have charge of all other affairs which, according to their decision, require their attention.

51. The following questions are solely under the jurisdiction of the All-Russian Congress:

a. Ratification and amendment of the fundamental principles of the Soviet Constitution.

b. Ratification of peace treaties.

52. The decision of questions indicated in Items c and h of Paragraph 49 may be made by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee only in case it is impossible to convoke the Congress.

B. ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL SOVIETS.

Chapter Ten.

The Congresses of the Soviets.

53. Congresses of Soviets are composed as follows:

a. Regional: of representatives of the urban and county Soviets, one representative for 25,000 inhabitants of the county, and one representative for 5,000 voters of the cities—but not more than 500 representatives for the entire region—or of representatives of the provincial Congresses, chosen on the same basis, if such a Congress meets before the regional Congress.

b. Provincial (Gubernia): of representatives of urban and rural (Volost) Soviets, one representative for 10,000 inhabitants from the rural districts, and one representative for 2,000 voters in the city; altogether not more than 300 representatives for the entire province. In case the county Congress meets before the provincial, election takes place on the same basis, but by the county Congress instead of the rural.

c. County: of representatives of rural Soviets, one delegate for each 1,000 inhabitants, but not more than 300 delegates for the entire county.

d. Rural (Volost): of representatives of all village Soviets in the Volost, one delegate for ten members of the Soviet.

Note 1. Representatives of urban Soviets which have a population of not more than 10,000 persons participate in the county Congress; village Soviets of districts of less than 1,000 inhabitants unite for the purpose of electing delegates to the county Congress.

Note 2. Rural Soviets of less than ten members send one delegate to the rural (Volost) Congress.

54. Congresses of the Soviets are convoked by the respective Executive Committees upon their own initiative, or upon request of local Soviets comprising not less than one-third of the entire population of the given district. In any case they are convoked at least twice a year for regions, every three months for provinces and counties, and once a month for rural districts.

55. Every Congress of Soviets (regional, provincial, county, and rural) elects its Executive organ—an Executive Committee the membership of which shall not exceed:

(a) For regions and provinces, 25; (b) for a county, 20; (c) for a rural district, 10. The Executive Committee is responsible to the Congress which elected it.

56. In the boundaries of the respective territories the Congress is the supreme power; during intervals between the convocations of the Congress, the Executive Committee is the supreme power.

Chapter Eleven.

The Soviet of Deputies.

57. Soviets of Deputies are formed:

a. In cities, one deputy for each 1,000 inhabitants; the total to be not less than 50 and not more than 1,000 members.

b. All other settlements (towns, villages, hamlets, etc.) of less than 10,000 inhabitants, one deputy for each 100 inhabit-

ants; the total to be not less than three and not more than 50 deputies for each settlement.

Term of the deputy, three months.

Note—In small rural sections, whenever possible, all questions shall be decided at general meetings of voters.

58. The Soviet of Deputies elects an Executive Committee to deal with current affairs; not more than five members for rural districts, one for every 50 members of the Soviets of cities, but not more than 15 and not less than three in the aggregate (Petrograd and Moscow not more than 40). The Executive Committee is entirely responsible to the Soviet which elected it.

59. The Soviet of Deputies is convoked by the Executive Committee upon its own initiative, or upon the request of not less than one-half of the membership of the Soviet; in any case at least once a week in cities, and twice a week in rural sections.

60. Within its jurisdiction the Soviet, and in cases mentioned in Paragraph 57, Note, the meeting of the voters, is the supreme power in the given district.

Chapter Twelve.

Jurisdiction of the Local Organs of the Soviets.

61. Regional, provincial, county, and rural organs of the Soviet power and also the Soviets of Deputies have to perform the following duties:

a. Carry out all orders of the respective higher organs of the Soviet power.

b. Take all steps towards raising the cultural and economic standard of the given territory.

c. Decide all questions of local importance within their respective territory.

d. Coordinate all Soviet activity in their respective territory.

62. The Congresses of Soviets and their Executive Committees have the right to control the activity of the local Soviets (i. e., the regional Congress controls all Soviets of the respective regions; the provincial, of the respective province, with the exception of the urban Soviets, etc.); and the regional and provincial Congresses and their Executive Committees in addition have the right to overrule the decisions of the Soviets of their districts, giving notice in important cases to the central Soviet authority.

63. For the purpose of performing their duties, the local Soviets, rural and urban, and the Executive Committees form sections respectively.

ARTICLE FOUR.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

Chapter Thirteen.

64. The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens, irrespective of religion, na-

tionality, domicile, etc., of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, of both sexes, who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of election:

a. All who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society, and also persons engaged in housekeeping, which enables the former to do productive work, i. e., laborers and employees of all classes who are employed in industry, trade, agriculture, etc.; and peasants and Cossack agricultural laborers who employ no help for the purpose of making profits.

b. Soldiers of the army and navy of the Soviets.

c. Citizens of the two preceding categories who have to any degree lost their capacity to work.

Note 1—Local Soviets may, upon approval of the central power, lower the age standard mentioned herein.

Note 2—Non-citizens mentioned in Paragraph 20 (Article Two, Chapter 5) have the right to vote.

65. The following persons enjoy neither the right to vote nor the right to be voted for, even though they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely:

a. Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits.

b. Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, etc.

c. Private merchants, trade and commercial brokers.

d. Monks and clergy of all denominations.

e. Employees and agents of the former police, the gendarme corps, and the Okhrana (Czar's secret service), also members of the former reigning dynasty.

f. Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also persons under guardianship.

g. Persons who have been deprived by a Soviet of their rights of citizenship because of selfish or dishonorable offenses, for the period fixed by the sentence.

Chapter Fourteen.

Elections.

66. Elections are conducted according to custom on days fixed by the local Soviets.

67. Election takes place in the presence of an electing committee and the representative of the local Soviet.

68. In case the representative of the Soviet cannot be present for valid causes, the chairman of the electing committee takes his place, and in case the latter is absent, the chairman of the election meeting replaces him.

69. Minutes of the proceedings and results of elections are to be compiled and signed by the members of the electing committee and the representative of the Soviet.

70. Detailed instructions regarding the election proceedings and the participation in them of professional and other

workers' organizations are to be issued by the local Soviets, according to the instructions of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Chapter Fifteen.

The Checking and Cancellation of Elections and Recall of the Deputies.

71. The respective Soviets receive all the records of the proceedings of the election.

72. The Soviets appoint a commission to verify the elections.

73. This commission reports on the results of the Soviets.

74. The Soviet decides the question when there is doubt as to which candidate is elected.

75. The Soviet announces a new election if the election of one candidate or another cannot be determined.

76. If an election was irregularly carried on in its entirety, it may be declared void by a higher Soviet authority.

77. The highest authority in relation to questions of elections is the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

78. Voters who have sent a deputy to the Soviet have the right to recall him, and to have a new election, according to general provisions.

ARTICLE FIVE.

THE BUDGET.

Chapter Sixteen.

79. The financial policy of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic in the present transition period of dictatorship of the proletariat, facilitates the fundamental purpose of expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the preparation of conditions necessary for the equality of all citizens of Russia in the production and distribution of wealth. To this end it sets forth as its task the supplying of the organs of the Soviet power with all necessary funds for local and state needs of the Soviet Republic, without regard to private property rights.

80. The state expenditure and income of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic are combined in the state budget.

81. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets or the All-Russian Central Executive Committee determine what matters of income and taxation shall go to the state budget and what shall go to the local Soviets; they also set the limits of taxes.

82. The Soviets levy taxes only for the local needs. The state needs are covered by the funds of the state treasury.

83. No expenditure out of the state treasury not set forth in the budget of income and expense shall be made without a special order of the central power.

84. The local Soviets shall receive credits from the proper People's Commissars out of the state treasury, for the purpose of making expenditures for general state needs.

85. All credits allotted to the Soviets from the state treasury, and also credits approved for local needs, must be expended according to the estimates, and cannot be used for any other purposes without a special order of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Soviet of People's Commissars.

86. Local Soviets draw up semi-annual and annual estimates of income and expenditure for local needs. The estimates of urban and rural Soviets participating in county congresses, and also the estimates of the county organs of the Soviet power, are to be approved by provincial and regional congresses or by their executive committees; the estimates of the urban, provincial, and regional organs of the Soviets are to be approved by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars.

87. The Soviets may ask for additional credits from the respective People's Commissariats for expenditures not set forth in the estimate, or where the allotted sum is insufficient.

88. In case of an insufficiency of local funds for local needs, the necessary subsidy may be obtained from the state treasury by applying to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee or the Council of People's Commissars.

ARTICLE SIX.

THE COAT OF ARMS AND FLAG OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC.

Chapter Seventeen.

89. The coat of arms of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic consists of a red background on which a golden scythe and a hammer are placed (crosswise, handles downward) in sun-rays and surrounded by a wreath, inscribed:

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC.
WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

90. The commercial, naval, and army flag of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic consists of a red cloth, in the left corner of which (on top, near the pole) there are in golden characters the letters R. S. F. S. R., or the inscription: Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

Chairman of the fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets and of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee—J. Sverdloff.

Executive Officers—All-Russian Central Executive Committee: T. I. Teodorowitch, F. A. Rosin, A. P. Rosenholz, A. C. Mitrofanoff, K. G. Maximoff.

Secretary of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee —V. A. Avanessoff.

* * * * *

Since the foregoing Russian Constitution was adopted the following decree of the People's Commissaires has been enacted:

A decree of the Council of People's Commissaires, published in the Izvestaya, the organ of the Central Executive Committee, of the 24th of November, 1918, No. 257:

The Soviet of People's Commissaires, believing that a more steady and widespread exchange of written communications between the proletarians of the cities and the poorer classes of the villages will further serve to strengthen and confirm the union already existing between them, and will in this manner aid in organizing the revolutionary Socialist forces of Russia, considers it essential to simplify and facilitate the exchange of postal communications. With these objects in view, the Soviet of People's Commissaires decrees as follows: (1) After January 1, 1919, there will be free transmission in Russia of all open and sealed written communications, weighing not more than fifteen drams (about one ounce); (2) unregistered letters weighing more than fifteen drams, as well as registered letters, will be paid for at the full regular rate, in stamps covering charges for weight and registration; (3) unregistered letters and packages sent by Soviet institutions pay no charges; (4) the delivery without charge of unregistered open communications is extended also to cover the correspondence entering the confines of Soviet Russia from other countries.

THE MOTHERS AND CHILDREN OF SOVIET RUSSIA

An Answer to the Capitalist Lie That Says the Bolsheviki Degrades Women

Two million young lives every year have been sacrificed in Russia because of the darkness of the oppressed people, because of the apathy of the Class State. Two million suffering mothers yearly have saturated Russian soil with tears, and covered with toil-worn hands the early graves of the innocent victims of the hideous social order. Human thought, which for centuries has sought a free path, has at last reached the bright age of workers' reforms, in which the mother will be safeguarded for the child, and the child for the mother. Among the conspicuous examples of capitalist morality were orphan-asylums crowded beyond their capacity, with a colossal death-rate and a horrible method of nursing the children—a method which was an insult to the sacred feelings of a helpless toiling mother, and which made of a mother-citizen a dull nursing animal. All these nightmare horrors have, fortunately, been swallowed up in the dark mists of the past since the victory of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolution.

You, working-women, toiling mother-citizens, with your responsive hearts—you brave builders of a new social life

—you ideal teachers, physicians, and nurses—all of you are called by new Soviet Russia to contribute your minds and feelings to help build the great structure of Social Welfare for future generations. All central and local institutions of the Commissariat of Public Welfare which serve the children, from the date of publication of this decree, are merged into one organization, and transferred to the supervision of the Department for Safeguarding Mothers and Children, so as to create an inseparable system, together with the institutions for the care of pregnant women, for the purpose of bringing up mentally and physically strong citizens. The Petrograd Maternity Home (formerly a private institution), with all its auxiliary branches, becomes a part of the system of "Palaces for Safeguarding Motherhood and Infancy," and is named, "Palace of Infancy. " The Moscow Maternity Home becomes part of the Moscow Institute of Motherhood, and is named, "The Moscow Institute of Infancy."

For the purpose of hastening the realization of the necessary reform for safeguarding childhood in Russia, a special committee has been organized in connection with the Department for Safeguarding Mothers and Children. This committee is composed of representatives of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, of workers' organizations, and of specialists in children's health and education. The following principles shall guide the work of this Committee:

1. Safeguarding the mother for the child. The best milk for the child—the milk from its mother's breast.

2. Bringing up the child in the atmosphere of a widely-developed socialist community.

3. Creating for the child conditions which will lay a foundation for the development of its physical and mental strength, and for a bright understanding of life.

People's Commissar of Public Welfare: Alexandra Kollontay.

Member of the Collegium, supervising the Department for Safeguarding Mothers and Children: N. Korolev.

Secretary: Zvetkov. January 31, 1918.

547

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